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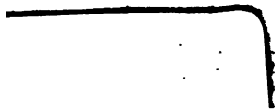
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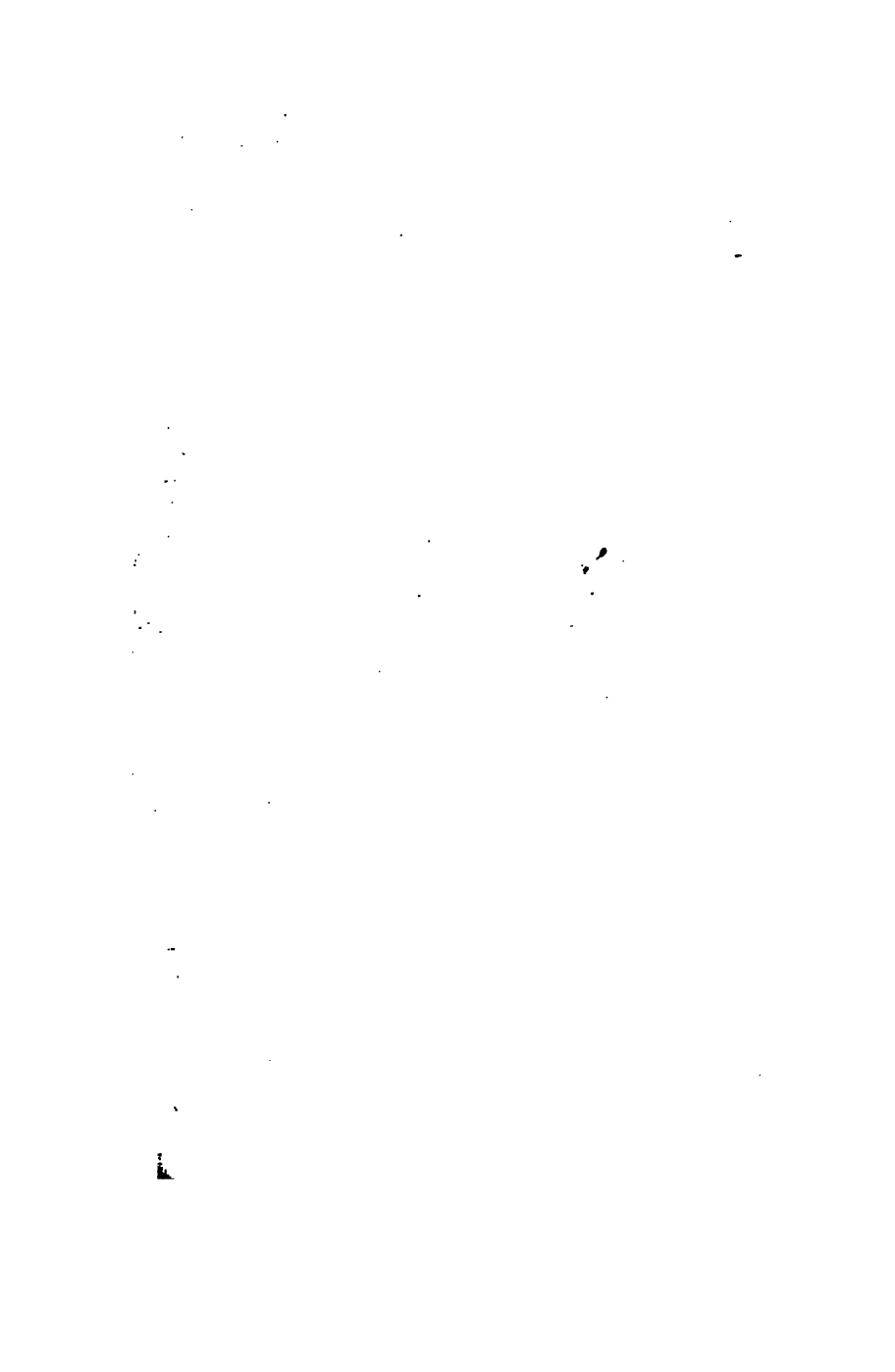


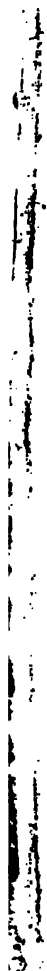
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OF  
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KING of FRANCE.

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*Of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.*  
Faithfully translated from the FRENCH ORIGINAL,  
which was Suppressed at *Paris*.

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. I.

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# EXTRACT

OF A

LETTER from *PARIS*,

Concerning the

HISTORY of *LEWIS XI.*

By M. DUCLOS.

*THE whole impression of the history of Lewis XI. has been sold off in three weeks time, to the number of two thousand copies. This performance has made so much noise here, that all mankind have thought themselves concerned in commending or blaming it. The freedom, wherewith the author has expressed himself,*



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*self, has given great offence to the Chancellor, the Parliament, and the Clergy; in short, the book has been suppressed by an order of council, bearing date the twenty-eighth day of March last, and drawn up in the following form;*

**L**E roy ayant jugé à propos de se faire rendre compte de ce qui s'est passé au sujet du livre intitulé, *Histoire de Louis XI, &c.* Sa majesté auroit appris, que ce livre ayant été imprimé sur le fondement du privilege general accordé à l'Academie des Belles Lettres, sans que l'auteur se fut conformé à tout ce qui est prescrit pour parvenir à l'impression des livres,

“ **T**HE king judging it convenient to have an account laid before him of what had passed concerning a book entitled, *The History of Lewis XI, &c.* his majesty had found, that the author having printed his book by virtue of the general privilege granted to the academy of Belles Lettres, without conforming himself to the particular rules laid down for obtaining

livres, on s' étoit tellement haté de le repandre dans le public, que l'edition entiere de l'ouvrage étoit déjà débitée, lorsqu'on s'est appercu des defauts de cette histoire, ou l'on a remarqué plusieurs endroits contraires, non seulement aux droits de la couronne sur différentes provinces, du royaume, mais au respect, avec lequel on doit parler de ce qui regarde la religion, ou les regles des moeurs, et la conduite des principaux ministres de l'Eglise; que cependant il étoit à craindre, que le desir du gain ne portât

“ *obtaining leave to*  
 “ *print a book, had*  
 “ *used such dispatch*  
 “ *in the disposal of*  
 “ *his copies, that the*  
 “ *whole edition was*  
 “ *sold off, before the*  
 “ *faults of his per-*  
 “ *formance were dis-*  
 “ *covered, in which,*  
 “ *however, were se-*  
 “ *veral passages, not*  
 “ *only repugnant to*  
 “ *the rights of the*  
 “ *crown to several*  
 “ *provinces, but with-*  
 “ *al directly contrary*  
 “ *to that respect,*  
 “ *which ought to be*  
 “ *observ'd in treating*  
 “ *of all matters re-*  
 “ *lating to religion,*  
 “ *or morality, and*  
 “ *the behaviour of the*  
 “ *principal ministers*  
 “ *of the church;*  
 “ *that notwithstanding*  
 “ *there was cause*  
 “ *to*

portât quelques im-  
primeurs à en faire  
secrètement une  
nouvelle édition,  
sans que ces en-  
droits eussent été  
corrigez ; à quoy  
étant nécessaire de  
pourvoir, &c. sa  
majesté a fait &  
fait deffence a tous  
imprimeurs, à li-  
braires et autres, ré-  
imprimer, &c. sous  
peine de mille liv-  
res d' amende et de  
déchéance de mai-  
trise.

“ to apprehend, that  
“ some printers, thro’  
“ a desire of gain,  
“ might be induced to  
“ publish privately a  
“ second edition of  
“ this performance  
“ before the said pas-  
“ sages should be cor-  
“ rected ; against  
“ which it being ne-  
“ cessary to make a  
“ proper provision,  
“ &c. his majesty does  
“ by these presents  
“ prohibit all prin-  
“ ters, booksellers,  
“ and others, to re-  
“ print the same, &c.  
“ under the penalty  
“ of one thousand li-  
“ vres, and the loss  
“ of their freedom”.

*This*

*This order of the council makes a considerable noise, and the more so, as none of the regulations prescribed for the obtaining an impression were omitted, and the MS. \* had been carefully examined. But the zealots have loudly exclaimed against it, and the pope's nuncio as warmly complained of it; the author, besides, has not expressed himself with sufficient accuracy upon the article relating to the acquisition of Burgundy and Dauphiné. These circumstances have raised the storm. The parliament were disposed to have taken the affair into consideration, upon occasion of the manner wherein the author hath treated of the re-union of those two provinces to the crown, but at the same time they would have taken the opportunity of commending him for the great and sound maxims of government he has laid down; as also for the valuable principles of the liberties of the Gallician church, which he has so judiciously advanced.*

\* No book can be printed at Paris, till the manuscript has been read by a censor, whom the chancellor appoints for this purpose, and who makes a report and signs it, before the privilege is granted; which report is always printed with the book, and called Approbation.

*advanced. This the council could not permit, and for that reason caused the above-mentioned order to be published with the greater expedition. Thus the affair stands at present, but woe be to him that presumes to reprint the book here.*

**T H E**

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THE

P R E F A C E.

I SHALL not undertake to prove the usefulness of history; 'tis a truth too generally received to stand in need of proof. Arts and sciences have different objects of usefulness, and are the glory of a nation. 'Tis the office of history alone to train up men for the service of the state, and from thence they are to derive the rules of their conduct.

The theatre of the world supplies only a certain number of scenes, which are perpetually coming over again in one constant train of succession. In seeing the same mistakes to be regularly followed by the same misfortunes, 'tis reasonable to imagine, that if the former had been known, the latter would have been avoided. Things past should instruct us in relation to things to come, the knowledge of history being no other than an anticipated experience.

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Upon this principle particular histories have the advantage over such as are general. General histories may be curious; and many of them deserve only our attention, as it is a shame to be ignorant of them; they should be read, but particular histories should be studied.

Were we desirous of knowing only the principal events, a long succession of ages would furnish very little variety; cruel, and frequently unjust, wars, provinces laid waste, the people oppressed, treaties sworn to and violated, give us a just image of history.

Amid so many resembling facts, the difference is only perceptible in the springs from whence they proceed; and these we are to learn from particular histories. Those of our own nation are of the greatest moment and advantage to us. 'Tis from thence, that we must become acquainted with the fundamental constitution of the monarchy, the principles of publick and private right, and with those of the revolutions. One of the principal is that which is attributed to Lewis XI. a revolution the more singular, as it was brought about without commotion in the state, and by insensible degrees. It has  
been



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been said of this prince, that *he placed kings above controul*; but this was done without making a shew of his designs; which must have either hindered or retarded their success. He knew how to prepare and lay hold of favourable circumstances, to overlook all forms when it served his turn, to restore them upon occasion, and seem as tho' he submitted to them, in order to give them a due respect, as being in themselves one of the ramparts of authority. By a conduct equally firm and complying, he laid the foundations of that power, to which his successors have arrived; insomuch that, notwithstanding the weakness of some of them, the royal authority has ever since been advancing by the motion which Lewis XI. had impressed upon it, or at least, had so considerably augmented, as to be looked upon as the author of it.

I cannot, however, avoid observing, that in ascribing to a king the events of his reign, we must distinguish his own actions and designs from the revolutions which have sprung from remoter causes. The reign of princes is frequently no more than the epocha of these revolutions; they are sometimes the wheels of them,  
seldom

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seldom the authors. He who fixes the fate of empires, who overturns thrones by the breath of his mouth, who holds the hearts of kings in his hands, prepares their rise and their fall by imperceptible ways; the conquering, the political, the tyrannical, the weak prince, are only instruments in the hands of God. Nor let us imagine, that we have sounded his decrees, and penetrated into the first principles of events, when we have discovered some of their second causes.

Let us not confine our views to France, but cast our eyes upon other states; we shall find at the same time a general influence spreading itself over all Europe, producing a kind of fermentation there, and changing the face of it.

In the north the tyranny of the kings of Denmark gave liberty to Sweden. If this kingdom had been less oppressed, it would have continued longer in a state of slavery.

England was the theatre of all the horrors which sprung from the factions of Lancaster and York; the title depending upon superior force, the scepter was grasped by him who presumed to seize it. The genius of the English never shewed itself  
more

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more than at this season, the restless and haughty spirit of this nation served but to prove, that it is only by bold attempts a free people can be pleased, and brought under subjection.

Spain, which had been so long the ally and friend of France, immediately became its rival, as soon as it saw its own power augmented by the re-union of the crowns of Castille and Arragon upon the head of Ferdinand the Catholick. The reign of this prince received an addition of glory by the discovery of the new world, the source of wealth and misery, which has enriched and depopulated Europe.

The house of Austria, originally more illustrious than powerful, sinks at once thro' the weakness of its princes, into a state of languishment, neither answering to its first setting out, nor to the degree of power, it has since arrived at. It advances itself by the marriage with Mary of Burgundy, and extends farther by its alliances and politicks, or rather its intrigues, than other princes by their conquests and virtues.

The Switzers, wearied with being the victims of pride and tyranny, shake off  
the

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the yoke, and become commendable by their valour, wise in their administration, deserving of respect from their manners, formidable to their enemies, and faithful to their allies.

In Italy, James Sforza, an adventurer, raises himself a name in arms; his son increases the glory of it, gets possession of the Milanois as an usurper, and governs it as a prince.

The family of Medicis by their wealth and credit make themselves masters of Florence. By gaining the affection of their fellow-citizens, by the reputation of their virtues, and by serving their country, they find the means of subduing it. They usurp the sovereignty by the only methods, which render princes worthy to keep it.

Formerly the unlimited power of the popes exempted them from yielding to a plan of government, and paying the regards that were due to kings. They spoke, and they were heard; they commanded, and they were obeyed. The abuse of power is always the rock whereon it splits. Mankind began to distinguish the prince from the pontiff; they shewed  
him

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him respect, but stood in less awe of him. From the time of Lewis XI. the court of Rome grew more cautious of engaging rashly in hazardous undertakings. They laid schemes, and concerted measures, and the diminution of their power gave birth to their politicks.

These were the circumstances, which accompanied or followed soon after the reign of Lewis XI. and which preceded by some years the greatest and suddenest of all revolutions; I mean the revolution which happened in religion at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and which totally changed the interests of princes, and the political system of Europe. We see by this description, that the reign of Lewis XI. is one of those, which it most concerns us to know.

The common discourse of such as are but moderately acquainted with our history is, to ask, what can be said after Philip de Commines? Abundance of things, which he either knew not, or has omitted, that are very important and capable of being proved. We cannot too highly commend that excellent writer; the uprightness of his intention, the  
good

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good sense and deep penetration, with the solid judgment, which prevails in his performance, have justly acquired him the reputation he enjoys, and will always maintain.

And yet those, who make history their particular study, agree, that he has only written memoirs, and not a history. Besides the faults, which stand corrected in the marginal notes of the last edition, there are several others which have escaped him. I shall frankly point them out, as it is one of the duties incumbent upon me. As often as I have found myself to differ from him, I have indeed suspected my judgment, and not persisted in my opinion, till after the strictest enquiries. His faults are not commonly of great consequence; but we may always correct the mistakes of great men, and perhaps they are the only ones which deserve it, and may be criticised upon with advantage.

It is farther proper to observe, that Commines did not come into France till 1472, the twelfth year of Lewis XI. and could only know by report what had passed in the kingdom before that time. His  
memoirs

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memoirs begin but with the war for the publick good, and Lewis XI. was then two and forty years old. It is conjectured, from the memoirs of Commines, that he drew them up about the year 1491, eight years after the king's death, and seven and twenty after the first events which he relates. As he wrote only by memory, he has not always been very exact in his relation of facts. I durst almost venture to advance a proposition, which tho' it looks like a paradox, may, notwithstanding, be not less true, that contemporary authors are not always the most capable of writing the history of their own times. They can only give memoirs, which posterity makes use of; and these are frequently contradictory to each other. And from this very contrariety it is, that we come at the truth.

Besides, they cannot know the hidden springs, which give rise to the facts they relate; whereas the most secret acts of a ministry becoming publick after a long course of years, when they are without consequence, we enter into a sanctuary, which was impenetrable to our ancestors. The best-informed person, living in a court,

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court, can never be so thoroughly instructed as an historian, who has before him all the acts, letters, treaties, accounts, and in general whatever serves as a foundation for history. And such is precisely the collection of pieces, which are deposited in the king's library, from whence I have compiled this history.

The late M. Abbé le Grand, a person extremely laborious, spent thirty years in making the collection, from whence he drew up his annals rather than history. His pains have been very useful to me, and saved me a great deal of trouble. This acknowledgment is due to him, and cannot be too gratefully remembered. And yet I have not followed his plan, and much less adopted his views. As Lewis XI. was the constant object of his studies, he had accustomed himself to look upon this prince as the greatest king that ever filled the throne. Mankind are secretly disposed to think, tho' at the same time perhaps they may not be sensible of it, that they have a share in the glory of those, about whom they are employed. He judged the minutest events of this reign worthy his notice; all seemed to him of equal importance.

And



## Le <sup>de</sup> P R E F A C E.

And yet, notwithstanding all the enquiries of M. Abbé le Grand, and all the pains he has taken, I have found by experience, that collections, which abound in superfluities, do sometimes want that which is necessary; and that the largest performances are those, which require the strictest examination and discussion. I have compared the important pieces with those whose business it is to judge them. All the repositories of records have been open to me by orders of M. le comte de Maurepas, to whom the king has committed the custody of whatever relates to letters, arts, and sciences, and in his choice he had consulted with the lovers of learning.

I have not contented myself with reading over printed books and manuscripts, but have farther consulted such persons, who are best acquainted with our history. I have received very great advantage from the advice of M. Berthier, honorary councillor in parliament, and from M. M. de Cicemagne, and Secouffe of the academy of belles-lettres. I beg they will forgive me a publick declaration of the obligations I owe them. I judged that gratitude might excuse me from asking that leave, which

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which their modesty would have refused me.

I have not thought fit to relate all those little facts, which are read without being retained, which take off from the attention, and have never had any other merit than the present concern, and like all weak objects must disappear at a distance.

Communities, or families, will not find here any particulars, which, though possibly of consequence to them, are indifferent to the publick, unless they be important in themselves, and contribute to our acquaintance with the prince, whose life I am writing. We are not to give all that may enter into a journal, or annals, a place in an history. An historian must endeavour to inform himself in every minute circumstance, as it may serve to give him light into his subject, and must also examine whatever bears any relation to it, but should not trouble his reader with it. These are necessary instruments to the builder of the edifice, but useless to the inhabitant. The historian must read every thing, but should write only what deserves to be read.

I have omitted no fact that is worthy of notice, and have particularly dwelt upon  
those

## The P R E F A C E.

se which concern the laws and the government, and which are felt in their consequences to this day. I have been less careful to describe the manners of times, as they are ordinarily the principles or effects of the revolutions.

By this we shall see how much the virtues and vices of mankind depend upon the manners of the age wherein they live; that they have scarce ever any fixed principles, and act only by imitation; that the more unpolite ages are the most vicious, and that virtue grows purer in proportion as the mind is enlightened; we can become sensible that our real interests depend upon our adherence to the common interest of the society. What I here advance concerning a nation, may be applied to private persons. Men without knowledge are perpetually exposed to actions that are criminal; whereas a man of understanding, supposing him only to have interest in view, sees plainly that the best part he can take is to act honestly, and is very near the pursuit of virtue, who is obliged to be ashamed of vice.

In the times of greater ignorance a reputation of probity was kept up by such actions

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actions as would now be thought dishonourable. I could give several instances of it, but I think we ought to respect the very phantoms of virtue which time has consecrated, and which may even be objects of emulation, by means of the obscurity which covers their defects.

To give a juster character of Lewis XI. I have endeavoured to describe the genius of the age wherein he lived, I have had no regard to popular notions. And several persons will probably be surprized to find some of my opinions different from the judgment they have already formed without due examination. I am, by no means, afraid of giving a shock to prejudices; 'tis the first step towards truth. I have admitted only such facts as are supported by authentick records, and contemporary authors. And I have been particularly careful to preserve such circumstances as characterise the man, and lay him before our eyes, divested of all the external advantages of a throne, which are so apt to impose. But popular traditions I have heartily despised; and satisfied with suppressing them, I have not even thought them worth confuting, unless

## The P R E F A C E.

when some useful discovery has re-  
ed from them. I have no leis exposed  
condemned the faults of Lewis XI.  
hout dwelling upon the fables, which  
; their birth only to popular reports.  
e generality of mankind being scarce  
erwise acquainted with history than  
a loose tradition; 'tis no wonder, that  
; tradition should be strongly tainted  
h the ignorance and rudeness of the  
ple, in whose hands it has been depo-  
d.

have produced no records to vouch  
the truth of what I have advanced, as  
y would have swelled my volumes to  
great a bulk, though I had made  
ice only of the most important. Such  
re desirous to consult them, will find  
m in the king's library.

As to the order I have followed, it will  
be amifs to observe, that in the time  
Lewis XI. the year began at Easter;  
was it till 1564, that it was made to  
gin upon the first of January. I have  
owed the New Stile, but have set  
vn the date of Easter-day at the begin-  
g of every year, that whoever pleases,  
y compare the two stiles together.  
When

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When facts have occurred which have been intermixed with each other in their course, I have preferred the order of the matter to that of the dates; and had I done otherwise, my very exactness would have been a source of confusion.

These are the designs I have proposed to myself; and how well I have executed them, the reader will judge.

T H E

T H E  
I S T O R Y  
O F  
L E W I S XI.

B O O K I.

THE French monarchy was never nearer to the brink of ruin than in the reign of Charles the VII. The unhappy circumstances under which the kingdom then groan'd, were deriv'd from a more remote original. The fatal battle of Poitiers, wherein the valour of France gave way to the despair of the English, laid the first foundation of the troubles which shook the state. The imprudence of king John filled the kingdom with intestine wars and factions, and all the disorders consequent to anarchy. Such as were powerful enough, in their own opinion, to become disloyal, without being call'd to account for it, were either dispos'd to take a share in the government, or to shake it off; the dauphin, who stood firm to his father, his kingdom, and the state, kept the disaffected within due bounds, chastis'd the rebels, and made head against the enemy; and such was the wisdom of his administration, after he ascended the throne, that if his reign had been longer, he would have restor'd France to her ancient glory.

The people had scarce begun to breathe, when they saw themselves expos'd to fresh troubles by the death of Charles V. The minority of Charles VI.

B

his

his succeeding madness, and the divisions thereby occasioned among the great men, who sought to govern, gave but too strong a proof, that a king who is incapable of ruling, is still more pernicious to a state, than a prince who is either unfortunate, or indiscreet. This reign was one continued scene of civil war, and attended with all the horrible circumstances that could possibly arise from the weakness of a prince, the ambition of the great men, or the licentiousness of the people. Every private man receives some instruction from the ill accidents that befall him; but it seems as if a whole community could draw no advantage from experience.

The miseries into which the nation had been plunged by its divisions, did not in the least contribute to the restoration of unity, and our enemies made farther an advantage of our disagreements. The courage of the nation for some time supplied the want of prudence; but the errors, which were committed at the battle of Agincourt, made that day as fatal to us as the defeat at Poitiers. The English, reduced to the utmost extremity, desired peace; we forced them upon fighting, and made so bad an use of the advantages we had over them, that they owed their victory solely to our imprudence, and the necessity we laid them under of standing upon their own defence. The best of our troops were left dead upon the field, and four princes of the blood were taken prisoners.

In the midst of the general consternation the factions of Burgundy and Orleans stood distinguished by avarice, murder, and poison. The people, who had no king to rule over them, were subject to a great number of tyrants. The princes, divided by ambition, agreed only to make an ill use of the unhappy condition of Charles VI. It was generally believed, that they had poisoned the two elder daughters Lewis and John, who died within a few months  
of



of each other. Charles becoming dauphin, by the death of his two elder-brothers, was disposed to take the government upon himself, but found a considerable obstacle in the queen his mother, Isabel of Bavaria. The princess entered into all the factions opposite to the dauphin, without any other political view than to usurp an authority, which she chose rather to divide with the rebels, than to hold of her son. Unjust, without natural affection, greedy of power, incapable of supporting the weight of it, and what is still more dangerous to a state, considering herself as a foreigner; her very vices had nothing heroic in them, and her ambition shewed less the greatness of her soul than the weakness of her disposition. By such a treaty, as had never before been heard of, she married *May 21.* her daughter Catherine to Henry V. *1420.* King of England, and declared him heir to the crown of France, to the prejudice of the dauphin, whom she had never treated as her son, and who had a right to be her master. In short, Charles VI. dying some time after, the dauphin, under the name of Charles VII. thought *Oct. 22.* fit to be crowned at Poitiers, as the *1422.* English were in possession of Rheims, Paris, and the greatest part of the kingdom.

One might have expected, that Charles, who had been persecuted almost from his cradle, continually flying from place to place, constantly in arms, and enured to every kind of misfortune, should have been a prince entirely formed for war. It is true he recovered his kingdom out of the hands of the English, but the successes which procured him the title of victorious, were principally owing to his generals. To them he was indebted for almost every victory, and seldom made war in his own person. Charles was affable, good-natured, generous, and sincere, a good parent, a good master, deserving to be beloved

#### 4 *The* HISTORY of LEWIS XI.

by others, and of a friendly disposition himself. He had all the good qualities which would shine in a private person, though perhaps too low-minded for a king. Entirely given up to pleasures, he was less affected with the splendor of a crown, than chagrined with discharging the duties of the regal office. He dreaded the fatigues of war, though intrepid in the midst of danger. With all the valour of a hero, he wanted that courage so necessary in all great exploits, and superior to all events, which inspires such a firmness of soul, as by enabling us to take a view of disappointments with calmness and temper, at the same time suggests the proper means of surmounting them. This prince scarce ever interposed his own judgment, but constantly pursued the measures which were pointed out to him by his favourites and mistresses. The valour and conduct of his generals supplied the defects arising from his own natural indolence. He had the good fortune to meet with them, and was wise enough to make use of their assistance. The natural son of the duke of Orleans, who had the title of count de Dunois, was the person who did him the greatest services, and Agnes Sorel shared with him in the glory of them. She was the mistress of whom Charles was the most passionately fond, and was also the most deserving of his affection; her extraordinary beauty procured her the name of the Beautiful Agnes, and she was afterwards called the Lady of Beauty, from the castle of Beauté near Vincennes, which the king gave her, that, as he phrased it, she might have a name which resembled herself. A rare example for such as enjoy the same favour! She loved Charles only for himself, and had no other view in all she did than the glory of her lover and the happiness of the state. She was distinguished by more extraordinary virtues than are usually expected from her sex. So Francis I. expressed

expressed his judgment of her by the \* verses he wrote underneath her picture. She concerted with the count de Dunois the proper measures for rousing the king out of the lethargy wherein he lay entranced. She awakened his courage, by recalling him to a sense of his duty. By a political contrivance, Joan of Arc, who was commonly named the Maid of Orleans, was presented to his majesty. She appeared before him as a person sent from God, and raised up by heaven to deliver France from the oppression of her enemies. The king received the impression, the most understanding about him pretended to believe her pretensions just, and the army, persuaded that heaven declared in their favour, marched on with confidence; they thought themselves invincible, which is the first step towards victory. The valour, prudence, and virtue of that generous maid answered up to the idea which had been formed of them, and to her it was that the king owed his first successes.

But though Charles triumphed over his enemies, he could not get the better of the factions which divided his court. His inclination to pleasures made it necessary for him to have favourites, and his easy temper suffered them to make an ill use of their favour, which was generally employed in the destruction of each other. The constable Arthur of Brittany count de Richemont, Giac, Camus de Beaulieu, la Tremouille, and the count du Maine, had successively the ascendant over the king. The count du Maine †, besides his character of prince of the

B 3

blood,

\* Gentille Agnés, plus d'honneur tu mérite  
La cause étant de France recouvrer,  
Que ce que peut dedans un cloître ouvrir  
Close nonnain, ou bien devot hermite.

† Charles of Anjou, count du Maine, was the son of Lewis II. of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, and younger

6      *The* HISTORY of LEWIS XI.

blood, and brother-in-law to the king, was an able courtier, and always took care to stand fair in the opinion of Agnes Sorel, and the demoiselle de Villequier, and thus placed himself at the head of business, by seeming only to share in the pleasures of his master. The only dangerous rival he had was Anthony de Chabannes count de Dammartin, who claimed every thing as due to him upon the score of his valour and services. These two competitors wrought such disturbances in the court, that Charles found less difficulty in triumphing over his enemies, than in restoring peace to his own household.

The troubles which prevailed at court, were the image of the disorders that afflicted the provinces. All degrees of men in the state were in general corrupted. There was neither morality nor discipline among the clergy. Study and order were driven from the monasteries, and scandalous debauchery reigned in their stead; the monks either knew not their duty, or despised it. And the people, miserable as they were, supported their excesses, still keeping up a blind and stupid veneration for their order, which closed their eyes against their irregularities. The gentry valued themselves chiefly upon a romantick gallantry, and a savage bravery. And the soldiery, who were ill-paid, lived principally upon pillage, and looked upon every thing they could carry off by violence as lawful gain. Bands of thieves, under the names of Tondeurs, Retondeurs, and Ecorcheurs, over-ran and ravaged the provinces. The country was left untilled, and nothing heard of but robberies and assassinations. The pardons which were granted at that time, cannot  
be

younger brother to Lewis and Reignier of Anjou, who successively bore the title of king of Naples. Their sisters were Mary of Anjou, who was married to Charles VII. and died in 1463. and Yolande of Anjou, who was married to Francis duke of Britany, and died in 1440.

be read without horror; and there was scarce a soldier who did not stand in need of a pardon; and 'tis from these pardons we learn what the crimes were which were then committed.

I thought it proper to give this idea of the state of France, and the court of Charles VII. that what I have to say concerning his successor may be the better understood. It will appear, that Lewis XI. born and bred up in the midst of these disorders, was very sensible of their fatal effects. Independently of his own character, the reflexions he made upon the first objects which were exposed to his view, contributed greatly to the conduct we shall find him pursuing. He scarce began to know himself before he took upon him to condemn the proceedings of his father; tho' endeavouring to provide a remedy, he had like to have perished in the attempt. He did not duly consider, that as a son he had only the right of laying his grievances before his father, not of taking up arms against him; but if any thing can take off from the blame of his ill setting out, it is, that he was too soon sensible that the kingdom stood in need of a master, and that he was born to command over it.

The life of Lewis XI. which I am now about to write, commences almost with the reign of Charles VII. However, I shall no more speak of the father, than as the son had a share in the events of his reign.

Lewis XI. the son of Charles VII. and Mary of Anjou, was born in the archiepiscopal palace at Bourges, on Saturday the third of July 1423, and was baptized the next day in St. Stephen's church by William de Champeaux, bishop of Laon, John duke of Alençon, a prince of the blood, standing godfather. As soon as he was born, according to the superstition of that time, they cast his nativity, and gave out, according to custom, many idle predictions

ditions in compliment to the prince upon the throne. The dauphin was brought up under the directions of the queen his mother, and had no other servants than those of her majesty's household. And their salaries were even so ill paid, upon account of the distresses of the state, that the king was obliged, in 1443, to appropriate to this use the revenues of Dauphiné, for which the queen gave her receipts. Upon settling the household of the dauphin, John Majoris, canon of Rheims, who was already his preceptor; was appointed his confessor; Amauri d'Estinac, and Bernard d'Armagnac, count de la Marche, were made his governors; and Joachim Rouault, who was afterwards made a marshal of France, was his master of the horse.

The dauphin was but five years old, when they married him to Margaret, the daughter of James I. king of Scotland. The contract was signed at Perth on the 19th of July, and ratified at Chinon on the 30th of October, 1428. The dowry of the dauphiness was no more than 12000 livres by the contract, but received an augmentation of 3000 livres more, when ratified by Charles VII. For eight years after the signing of this contract, 'till such time as the princess was carried over into France, the English did all they could to set aside the marriage; they offered to enter into a league of perpetual amity with the king of Scots, and to give up Roxburgh, Berwick, and several other places to him. These proposals were laid by James before the states of his realm. The clergy were divided in their opinions, but the nobility rejected the offers of the English. The judgment of the nobility was approved by the king, and Margaret was sent on board at Dunbarton with the ambassadors of Charles VII. The English put to sea with several vessels, in order to intercept the princess in her passage; but whilst they were busied in the pursuit of a vessel laden with

wine, that was coming from Bourdeaux, she very fortunately sailed, and landed at Rochelle. She made her entry into Tours on the 24th of June 1436, and the next morning the king attended upon her, and conducted her to the church. She was then thirteen years old; but as the dauphin was not yet quite fourteen, the archbishop of Tours granted him a dispensation, and Reginald de Chartres, archbishop of Rheims, and chancellor of France, performed the ceremony of the marriage.

After this the dauphin attended upon the king in his wars and expeditions, and from that time entered upon the laborious life he ever after followed. He was this year present in the assembly of the states of Dauphiné, which met at Romans, and made him a grant of 10,000 florins for his first entrance into the province. From thence he went to the siege of Montereau, where, at his entreaty, the king granted a pardon to the English that were in the town, which was carried by storm. After this he attended in the assembly at Bourges, where the pragmatick sanction was drawn up, which I shall have occasion to speak of, when I come to treat of its abolition.

The dauphin about this time began to distinguish himself in Poitou. Pons, la Tremouille, Amboise, John and Guy de la Rochefaucault, and John de Siguinville, lieutenant to marshal de Rétz, were so many tyrants, who laid waste Poitou, Saintonge, and Angoumois. And the little regard which the court paid to the complaints of the people, made it generally believed that these vexations were carried on with the king's permission. The dauphin immediately caused the most turbulent of the faction to be arrested, punished the misdemeanors which had been committed for twenty years past, and brought back the most rebellious to a sense of their duty. Lewis, at fourteen years of age, seemed to be the only resource, whereon France could depend.

Even the king himself, when wearied out with the remonstrances of the states of Languedoc, made answer, that the dauphin should visit them ere long, and provide a remedy for all their grievances. In short, he went to Toulouse attended with divers prelates, the sire d'Estinac, and viscount de Carmain; and the senéchalcy of Toulouse made him a present of 6000 livres, which he distributed among his council.

Lewis made a progress quite through Languedoc; he was almost in the same instant at Albi, Lavour, Toulouse, Castres, Besiers, and where-ever else his presence was necessary. Famine and the plague at this time ravaged the kingdom, and the unbridled licentiousness of the army rather made it the scourge than the safe-guard of the state. The dauphin finding that his chief dependance was upon the affection of the people, strove to gain it; and learning that the earl of Huntingdon, the English general, was preparing to invade Languedoc, he summoned the nobility and states of the province to a convention, who granted him a subsidy of six and forty thousand livres.

Whilst the dauphin was employed in Languedoc, the king had his eyes upon what passed on the Seine and the Loire. The English garison at Meaux absolutely cut off the trade of the Marne, which was so necessary to the subsistence of Paris: the conquest of Meaux was therefore a point of the utmost importance. The constable Arthur of Britany laid siege to it, and though in great want of proper preparations, yet his valour and activity supplying every deficiency, he became master of the town. Upon

this good success, the princes, prelates,  
1439. and persons of distinction assembled at  
Orleans to consult, whether it would be  
more adviseable to sue for peace, or carry on the war.  
After long debates, they carried it for peace. In



one of these conferences Juvenal des Ursins maintained, that as the king was only usufructuary of the crown, he could not alienate the least part of its demefnes.

In consequence of the assembly held at Orleans, the states general were called together at Bourges. The deputies of the provinces attended upon the king for six months without any effect, and were most of them robbed and plundered by the persons employed to escorte them. Such a degree of negligence on the king's part gave occasion to fresh clamours. The dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, the count of Vendôme, the bastard of Orleans, Chamont, la Tremouille, Pryé, John le Sanglier and Boucicaut, some out of a real regard to the state, and others with a view of serving their private interests under the colour of publick zeal, entered into a league to oblige the king to remove his principal ministers, and, to strengthen their party, drew over the dauphin into their alliance.

Lewis, who was naturally presuming, and puffed up with the great commendations which were given of him, and which were so much the more dangerous, as in some measure he deserved them, apprehended he had both right and talents sufficient to set himself up against his father, and thereupon withdrew to Niort.

The dauphin's retreat filled the court with divisions, each party pursuing the scheme which best suited his own hopes or fears; nor was the king's natural goodness sufficient to keep his subjects within the bounds of their duty. The haughty disposition of the dauphin, and the dread of displeasing him, if it did not gain him friends, at least procured him followers. The bastard of Bourbon and Anthony de Chabannes joined the rebels, and the horrible actions committed at Prague by the Hussites, giving cause to apprehend  
the

that the like consequences might follow from the civil war which they saw kindling in France, made them give it the name of the Praguerie.

Charles repented the disobedience of the dauphin more as a father than a king. He dispatched the constable and Ralph de Gaucou, governor of Dauphiné, to demand his son of the confederate princes: but the rebels growing more insolent from the king's goodness, which they judged to be weakness, would have violated the law of nations in the person of these deputies, if the count de Dunois had not diverted them from it. The king finding he could not reduce them by lenity, resolved to have recourse to severity, and advanced as far as Poitiers. He there learnt, that one Jaquet had given up to them the castle of S. Matfant; that the abbot and monks had intrenched themselves in the abbey, and with the assistance of some of the townsmen still held out one of the gates, called the gate of the cross, against them. He immediately marched to their relief, and upon his approach the duke of Alençon fled to Niort, so that his majesty entered S. Maixant without any resistance. He rewarded the monks by enlarging their privileges, and bestowed other marks of his favour upon the townsmen, who had continued loyal; but such of the rebels as fell into his hands, he caused to be hanged or drowned. Jaquet, who was some time after taken at Niort\*, was drawn and quartered.

The count de Dunois was the first who returned to his duty, and his example drew several others to their obedience, so that the dauphin finding his party to diminish, was obliged to fly into the Bourbonnois, with the duke of Alençon and Chabannes.

The

\* Capital punishments, according to the usage of those times, were arbitrary.

The king pursuing the rebels with 800 \* lances and 2000 bow-men, gave notice of his son's rebellion to the council of Dauphiné, and forbade them to receive him. This declaration prevented Dauphiné from having any share in the revolt.

The king next laid siege to Chambon and Crevan. These two places were carried by storm, and the example so terrified Aigueperse, Escurolle, and several other towns, that they opened their gates. The rebels fled constantly before the royal army, and would have passed into Burgundy, but were prohibited by duke Philip. But what absolutely ruined the dauphin's hopes, was the determination of the states of Auvergne, assembled at Clermont, who declared against him. The dukes of Alençon and Bourbon began now to talk of an accommodation; but after several conferences with the count d'Eu and the other deputies of the king, they failed in their engagement of bringing the dauphin. Upon this the king, giving way to his indignation, passed the Allier, and appeared before Vichi, which immediately surrendered; Varenne and S. Art were carried by storm; Charlieu, Perreux and Ronanne submitted.

The rebels hereupon were seized with terror and despair. The duke of Alençon made his peace, and retired

\* Our historians speaking of the regulations made in the army by Charles VII. indifferently use the terms of lances or hommes d'armes. A lance was a general term, which equally took in the soldier fighting with a spear or a sword, the page, the valet, and the archers, whether horse or foot. One lance was frequently composed of ten horse, without reckoning the foot; so that a company of a hundred lances was at that time a body of more than a thousand men. Lewis XI. by an ordinance published in 1474, reduced every lance to six horsemen, the homme d'armes, the page, the coutillier, the valet, and two archers on horse-back, who were all gentlemen, or reputed such.

retired to his own estate. Every one was afraid, that the last who should be left on the dauphin's side would be made an example, and become the victims of the king's resentment, and for this reason they were all over-earnest to implore his majesty's forgiveness. The king observing with grief, that the English took hold of this opportunity to lay siege to Harfleur in Normandy, and Tartas in Gascoigny, granted a pardon to all such as should lay down their arms, and marched on to Cuffet, whither the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy came to attend him. When they had passed through the first guards, they were told that the king would see them, but had given orders, that neither la Tremouille, Chaumont, nor Pryé, who were with them, and considered as the chief authors of the rebellion, should be admitted into his presence. The dauphin, in a surprize, turning to the duke of Bourbon, *Good god-father*, says he, *you did not tell me the case as it was, or that the king had not pardoned all those of my household.* He even made an offer of going back, but the duke let him know that the attempt was now unseasonable, and the three others withdrew.

The dauphin and duke, as they drew near to his majesty, fell thrice upon their knees, and asked his pardon. *Lewis*, says the king to his son, *'tis well you are come, you have been away a long time, go to bed, and we'll talk to you to-morrow.* And then turning to the duke of Bourbon, he reproached him with having gone off from his duty upon five different occasions, which he mentioned to him, and concluded with assuring him, that he must never more expect a pardon, if he ever hereafter transgressed in the like manner.

The facility wherewith the dauphin obtained his pardon, inspired him rather with presumption than gratitude, he mistook the kindness of his father for an effect of weakness. Too happy in being so soon  
restored

restored to favour himself, he judged, that his honour required him to procure the pardon of his accomplices, whom he called his associates; he confidently demanded it, and when the king refused to grant it, he thought to frighten him with saying, *Why then, Sir, I must go back to them, for I promised they should have it.* The king looking upon him with an air of contempt rather than indignation, coldly replied, *Go then, Lewis, if you like it, the gates are open; or if they are not wide enough, I'll have forty yards of the wall broke down to give you room. 'Tis very strange that you should pass your word before you had mine; however, the house of France is not so far unprovided with princes, but that there are some left, who will shew a greater regard than you to keep up its grandeur and honour.*

This answer struck the dauphin to such a degree, that he made a most ample submission; and the king was so much affected with his behaviour, that he ordered immediate proclamation *July 24.* to be made by sound of trumpet, that as the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon had obtained their pardon by their humiliation and subjection, his majesty was pleased to grant a general act of oblivion.

In the mean time, that the king might not leave the dauphin exposed to the suggestions of evil counsellors, he changed all the officers of his household, except his confessor and cook; and to shew that these precautions were merely owing to his affection for his son, he gave Dauphiné *July 28.* entirely up to him, by an act dated at Charlieu, on condition that the seal of the province should rest in the hands of the chancellor of France, and the antient officers be continued in their places. The dauphin immediately dispatched Rouault and Gabriel de Bernes to lay this grant before the council of the province; and John de Xaincoins had orders to pay 800 livres a month to the dauphin's steward,

steward, who in 1437, after his marriage, had no more than ten crowns a month for the use of his privy-purse. The year following he had twenty ; but as soon as this deed of cession was registered, the states of the province

*Aug. 13.* granted him a free gift of 8000 florins.

The dauphin's next care was to provide a remedy against the abuses which prevailed in Dauphiné, particularly with relation to the coin. He caused golden crowns to be coined in the dauphinal mint, with the same title and weight as the coins of France, and ordered that the species struck with the royal or dauphinal stamp, should be indifferently received in Dauphiné.

*1441.* The year after he attended upon the king in the sieges of Creil and Pontoise. This last place was carried by storm, and the dauphin was one of the first who entered it sword in hand. The king gained every day some fresh advantage ; but the English were not the only enemies of the state. The impossibility of keeping up discipline among soldiers that were ill paid, gave rise to innumerable robberies and assassinations. New regulations were issued out every day, which, as they were constantly left without execution, served only to prove the impunity of the offence, and to encourage the offender.

The finances were so drained, that the dauphin, to follow the king, was obliged to borrow of the abbey of S. Antoine of Vienna a golden cross of sixteen ounces in weight, and adorned with certain precious stones, which he mortgaged for 1200 crowns. The town of Tartas, which by agreement had engaged to surrender to such of the kings of France or England, as should appear before it upon a certain day with the greatest force, received the French army, without any attempt of opposition from the English.

From

From Tartas they marched to S. Sever. The dauphin, at the head of the gentlemen of Dauphiné, took by storm the two principal barriers, and was so well seconded by a company of Britons, that he carried the place. The siege of Acqs was still more glorious to him, where he entered the great bastion sword in hand. Marmande surrendered upon the first summons, and Reole was taken by storm. These successes, though honourable to the dauphin, were of very little benefit to the kingdom, as the king was scarce gone from them before they were all recovered by the English. 1442.

Whilst the king was carrying on the War in Languedoc and Guyenne, Talbot appeared before the gates of Dieppe with a body of one thousand five hundred men; but not having troops enough to lay siege to it, he raised a fort, which he furnished with provisions and ammunition, and put into it a garison of one thousand two hundred men. The count de Dunois threw himself into the town, and Talbot judging that it would be difficult to carry it, whilst defended by Dunois, thought fit to retire, leaving five or six hundred English in his new fort, under the command of William Paiton, Ripeley, and his own natural son. The count de Dunois also quitted Dieppe, leaving in it about five hundred men. Charles, who was not ignorant of the importance of this place, and apprehensive lest the English should make fresh attempts to gain it, sent a supply of all kind of ammunition, and charged the dauphin with the defence of it. The governor Charles des Marais, and the officers of the garison, such as Jancourt, Briquetot, Longueval, Drouin, and d'Uffel, were all brave and experienced soldiers, and reinforced by William de Coitivi, the brother of the admiral, and Theodwal 1443.  
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de Kermoisan, who threw themselves into the town with an hundred resolute Britons.

The dauphin, after he had secured the frontiers of Picardy, and the isle of France, advanced towards Dieppe with an army of three thousand men, having with him the Count de Dunois, Lewis of Luxembourg, count de S. Pol, who was afterwards constable, the sires de Grancourt, de Laval, de Chatillon, and Commerci. Theodwal had orders to march before with three hundred men, and invest the enemy's fort. The dauphin followed at a small distance, and commanded six hundred men to support the first detachment. The English made several sallies, but were constantly repulsed. Lewis marching on foot at the head of his troops, till he came within bow-shot of the place, remained encamped for two days, till he had thrown three bridges over the Fosse, and then he attacked the fort on all sides. The English made a most glorious defence, four hundred French lay dead upon the field, and the rest began to give way; when the dauphin, provoked at the resistance, and encouraging his men by his own example, brought them on again to the charge. The engagement was very bloody, but the victory did not long continue doubtful. The French entered the fort on all sides, and put all to the sword who fell in their way. Paiton, Ripeley, the natural son of Talbot, and the principal officers, died sword in hand, the rest were made prisoners. The Frenchmen found in the place were all hanged, and the fort demolished. The dauphin knighted the count de S. Pol, Hector d'Estouteville, Charles and Reginald Flavy, two brothers, and John de Consegues; and to reward the services and necessities of others in proportion, he distributed certain sums of money among the poor gentlemen who had been wounded, and the peasants who had been employed in the works.

After



After Lewis had taken care to secure Dieppe, he visited the frontiers of Picardy, and turned his whole thoughts upon the proper means of paying his troops. He was very sensible that it was not only unjust, but impossible, to maintain discipline in the army, without making a due provision for their subsistence; and scarce had he restored any degree of tranquillity in Champagne, Brie, and the isle of France, before he was obliged to advance towards Rouergue, to give a check to the violences committed by the count of Armagnac.

Philip Raymond II. count of Comminges, left behind him only one daughter, whose name was Margaret, to inherit his estate. This Lady was thrice married. The children she had by her two first husbands died in their infancy, and she then married Matthew de Foix, the uncle and guardian of Gaston. Upon some difference which arose between her and her third husband, he shut her up in prison, and kept her thus confined for fifteen or sixteen years. Hereupon John IV. count of Armagnac, who was Margaret's nephew, declared war against Matthew de Foix. As the county of Comminges, by the settlement made of it, was to revert to the crown, in case Margaret should die without children, and she was now fourscore years old, and had no child, the king thought fit to take cognizance himself of the contestations between Matthew de Foix and the count of Armagnac; and upon hearing both parties, he set Margaret at liberty, who died the same year. The count d'Armagnac, as heir and donee, upon this took possession of the county of Comminges, notwithstanding the opposition of the parliament of Toulouse, and the express orders of the king to the contrary.

This rash step in the count of Armagnac was owing to the hopes he had formed of being assisted by Henry VI. king of England, to whom he had offered one

one of his daughters in marriage, with a considerable dowry. The king, who had already but too many enemies, without entering into dispute with one of his own subjects, endeavoured to bring him back to his duty by gentle methods; but this served only to make the count more insolent. He had about six hundred lances, whereof he sent part into Rouergue under the command of Salazar, a Spanish officer, who had quitted the king's service, and the rest he divided between the bastard of Lescun and himself.

The dauphin having received orders to fall upon him, arrived at the gates of Rodes, before they knew that he had began his march. Armagnac, who was too insolent to be truly brave, sought to save himself by flight. The most part of the people about him were like persons with himself, without either honesty or courage. Maurigon de Valieck and John Boiffet betrayed him, and gave up Entraigues and Rodes. The dauphin immediately marched after the count, surprized him in Isle-Jourdain, seized upon him, his second son, and his two daughters, carried them publickly through Toulouse, in order to conduct them to Lavour, from whence they were removed to Carcassonne. His eldest son the count de Comagne escaped into Navarre. All opposition fell before the dauphin; Salazar implored his pardon, and the rest were put to flight. Lescun was the only person, who after he had engaged on the wrong side of the question, behaved himself like a man in it, and came to no accommodation, till he found that his holding out any longer would be of no service to the count of Armagnac, and besides, that he was undeserving of it. This gentleman was indifferently named the bastard of Lescun, or of Armagnac; his father was Arnold de Lescun, and his mother Anne of Armagnac. He was legitimated in 1463, took the title of count de Comminges, and became a great favourite with *Lewis XI.*

The

The dauphin after this returned to court, and left the command of the troops to Valpergue, the seneschal of Toulouse: But as this officer had neither the reputation nor resolution of the dauphin, they disbanded, plundered the provinces, and marched into Burgundy. Beaumont, marshal of Burgundy, gathering together the gentlemen and militia of the country, marched against them, and defeated them: But the count of Dammartin re-assembling certain troops, returned into Burgundy, ravaged a large tract of the country, and carried off for his own share ten thousand crowns from the marshal's territory. The king of Castille, the dukes of 1444. Orleans, Alençon, Bourbon, and Savoy, interceded for the count of Armagnac. The king refused to give ear to them for a considerable time, but being at last quite overcome with their solicitations, he gave him his liberty upon certain conditions, whereof the principal were, that his majesty should hold in his own hands the county of Comminges, the town of Lectoure, the four chatellines of Rouergue, with all the royal rights thereto appertaining, and that the count should renounce the alliance he was projecting to make with Henry VI. king of England. Henry had himself laid aside all thoughts of it from the time he had seen the ill success of the count d'Armagnac. He even sent the earl of Suffolk to demand in his name Margaret of Anjou, the daughter of Reignier, king of Naples and Sicily. The king of England's proposal to marry a princess of the royal blood of France was received with the more joy, as it gave occasion to a truce between the two crowns.

Charles VII. determined to make a proper use of it, by easing his people from the burden of maintaining his troops, in employing them out of the kingdom. One part of them he sent to the assistance of his brother-in-law Reignier of Anjou, king of Naples

ples and Sicily, who was at war with the inhabitants of Metz, and the other to the emperor Frederick and Sigismund duke of Austria, against the Switzers.

Reignier of Anjou, the second son of Lewis II. king of Naples and Yolande of Arragon, was born at Angers in 1408. In 1420 he married Isabel the daughter and heir of Charles I. duke of Lorraine. Upon the death of his father-in-law in 1430. he attempted to take possession of his dominions, but Antony de Vaudemont, the nephew of Charles, laid claim to Lorraine, as a fief that descended only to the male heir. The council of Basil, and the emperor Sigismund, were chosen arbitrators, and decided in favour of Reignier; but the count de Vaudemont refused to acquiesce in their judgment, supported his pretensions by arms, and with the assistance of Philip the good, duke of Burgundy, gained the victory of Bullegneville in 1431. Reignier was there defeated, taken prisoner, and carried to Dijon, where he lay confined for five years. Notwithstanding this defeat, Isabel his lady still kept possession of the greatest part of Lorraine. Lewis III. whom Jane II. queen of Naples had adopted and crowned, dying in 1434, she declared his brother Reignier her heir, and died soon after in 1435. Reignier by this will becoming king of Naples and count of Provence, independently of the other claims of the house of Anjou to the same dominions, obtained his liberty for a considerable ransom, and passed into Italy, where Alphonfus V. king of Arragon, disputed with him the kingdom of Naples. Reignier was not more successful against Alphonfus than he had been before against the count de Vaudemont, and was obliged to quit the kingdom. He supported himself under his misfortunes with courage and constancy, and found comfort in applying to arts and learning. From an unfortunate prince he became  
a very

a very valuable private person. Some time after this, having some disputes with the inhabitants of Metz, concerning the salt-pits in Lorraine, he engaged Charles VII. to espouse his cause. These two princes advanced before Metz, and pressed the siege so closely, that the inhabitants were constrained to come to an agreement, whereby they gave remittances to Reignier for an hundred thousand florins, which was due to them from him, and paid the king four and twenty thousand for the expences of the war. Epinal and Rualmenil submitted to France; and Toul and Verdun agreed to pay his majesty a certain tribute, as an acknowledgment of his right to protect them.

Whilst the king lay before Metz, the dauphin was marching against the Switzers, who, not satisfied with casting off the yoke of the house of Austria, farther attempted to invade the territories of that family, and totally cut off the nobility.

The Switzers, formerly named Helvetians, were originally divided into twelve cantons, known by the names of Tigurini, Tugeni, Ambrones, and Urbigeni. They derive the name they now bear from the town of Schwitz, one of the thirteen cantons. Their country lies between the Rhine, the lake of Constance, Franche-Comté, the Lemane lake, or lake of Geneva, and the Valais.

These people were subdued by the Romans under Julius Cæsar, and united to Germany in the reign of Honorius. And the country, after several revolutions, was divided into different lordships, under the dominion of the house of Habsbourg or Austria.

Had the Switzers been used with mildness and moderation by their sovereigns, they would probably never have attempted to throw off their yoke; but the princes of the house of Austria, instead of striving to gain the affection of their new subjects, treated them as slaves. The liberty, which is lost by anarchy,

24     *The HISTORY of LEWIS XI.*

chy, usually revives again out of the bosom of servitude; and excesses of tyranny are but so many pre-  
sages of its own destruction.

The governors sent into Switzerland committed all kinds of outrages, insomuch that the patience of the people was quite exhausted. Three peasants of the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, formed a project to give liberty to their country. They began by stirring up the people, and a fortunate accident intervening at the same time, completed the revolution.

Gisler, the governor of the country under the emperor Albert, being minded to try, by a ridiculous whim, how far he could carry the abuse of his power, ordered a cap to be fixed upon a pole in the most publick place of Altorf, with a strict injunction, that whoever should come within sight of it should make a low bow. One William Tell, scorning to stoop to such a degree of meanness, was by Gisler's order taken into custody, and by way of punishment, allowed the choice either of dying himself, or of carrying off an apple with an arrow, which should be placed upon the head of his son, at a considerable distance. Tell relying upon his dexterity in shooting, chose the latter, and took off the apple without wounding his son. Gisler observing that Tell had another arrow, asked him, What he meant to do with that? *Why*, says he, *if I had unfortunately hit my son with the first, I would have shot you with the second.* Gisler, more enraged than affected with the virtue of the generous parent, and ashamed to put him publickly to death, caused him to be laid in chains, and carried with him into a boat upon the lake of Uri, without doubt to make him secretly away. When the bark was got into the midst of the lake, on a sudden there arose so violent a storm, that the people about Gisler told him, he was infallibly lost, unless he let loose his prisoner, who being  
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an excellent seaman, was alone capable of saving them.

The most cruel are the most timorous. Gislser ordered Tell to be unbound, and placed him at the helm. Tell turned the prow of the Vessel towards a rock, upon which laying hold of his bow he nimbly leaped, and at the same time pushed back the boat with his foot far enough into the lake, to allow himself time to gain the mountains. He then hid himself in a narrow way through which Gislser was to pass, and as soon as he came within reach, shot him dead with an arrow, and running straitway to Schwitz, gave the alarm. The whole country rose up in arms. The three cantons of Schwitz, Uri, and Underwald, gave the signal of liberty, and laid the foundation of the republick of the Switzers. The emperor Albert marched against them, but was slain by his nephew in an ambuscade.

The princes of the house of *Austria* attempted in vain to bring the Switzers again under their subjection. They were protected by the emperors, who were not of that family. The dukes of *Austria*, apprehending they were only to march against a body of rebels, found a valiant enemy to encounter, an enemy tired with oppressions, and trained up by hard fortunes, and who being poor, and having nothing to lose, were upon that score the more formidable.

The example of the three cantons was followed by the rest: and yet there passed two ages before this republick was modelled into the form wherein we now behold it. In the time of Charles VII. the Switzers were still contending for their liberty, and by that means grew to deserve it.

The dauphin's army, which marched against them, consisted of fourteen thousand French, and eight thousand English, who took the advantage of the truce, to fight under the same colours. The

commander of the English was Matthew Goffe, a Welshman, commonly called Mattago.

The marquiss of Rothelin Hocheburg, governor of that part of Switzerland, which still continued under their obedience to the house of *Austria*, sent embassadors to the dauphin to hasten his march, and to let him know that the whole body of the gentry was shut up in Zurich, and the town reduced to the utmost extremity. The dauphin several times demanded of them, if care was taken to provide subsistence for his troops, for that otherwise they would disband, and commit great ravages. They promised to supply whatever he demanded, and upon these assurances he set forward. When he came near Basil, he had information that the Switzers were marching to meet him; upon which he detached John de Beuil, count of Sancerre, with a body of horse to take a view of them, and if he judged it requisite, to fall upon them. De Beuil found them in the plain of Bottelen, marching in very good order. He attacked them very vigorously, and was in like manner received by them; and though he had the advantage both of numbers and situation, was never able to break their ranks.

The Switzers retreated fighting till they came to a burying-ground, where they intrenched themselves behind the hedges, and the old Walls, and began to make a most terrible fire. The French cavalry quitted their horses, and whilst they were labouring to force themselves a passage, were exposed to the continual fire of an enemy, who were secure of not missing. The victory was long uncertain, whilst both sides fought with equal fury; but as soon as the wall was thrown down, the French put all before them to the sword, and the Switzers fought only to sell their lives at a dear rate. There was no quarter given, nor any demanded; they all died upon the spot, shewing to their last breath all imaginable signs  
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of courage. 'Tis said, that some few of them escaped, but upon their return home were put to death by their countrymen, who judged them not fit to live, as they wanted the courage to die with their swords in their hands. These people, who were looked upon as rebels, because as yet they were not the strongest side, were united by this principle, that all who aspire to liberty should chuse either death or victory. And with such sentiments it was easy to foresee, that this generous nation would one day become free. Authors differ concerning the Number of the slain; but they are made to amount from fifteen hundred to four thousand. By the letters, which the king and the dauphin sent to the princes of the empire, three thousand Switzers are said to have been defeated in this action. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who was afterwards advanced to the popedom by the name of Pius II. tells this story somewhat differently; but then he was at Nuremberg attending upon the emperor, and evidently wrote from uncertain reports, as he is not always consistent with himself.

The Switzers, under a great consternation at this loss, raised the siege of Zurich and Voesparg; they sued to the dauphin for peace, and offered him the council of Basil and the duke of Savoy as mediators. The dauphin accepted of the mediation, and nominated Gabriel de Bernes, the master of his household, to treat with the Switzers, who on their Side nominated the deputies of the several cantons.

As neither the dauphin nor this republick had any particular affairs to settle, the treaty was very soon concluded. The principal *Art. 21.* article was the neutrality of France between the Switzers and the house of Austria. The dauphin's chief inducement to this peace was the dishonest behaviour of Frederick, who, as soon as his apprehensions were over, grew ungrateful, and instead of making proper supplies for the subsistence

of the army, refused it both provisions, forage, and lodging; infomuch that the troops, being pressed by necessity, disbanded, and fell to plunder, wherever they came. By this means the French became odious to the very persons whom they had so lately delivered. Whilst they continued together they laid waste the country; but as soon as they divided into small parties, they were massacred by the peasants, who slew a prodigious number of them.

After this expedition the king and the  
1445. dauphin repaired to Nanci, to be present at the marriage of Margaret of Anjou, whom the earl of Suffolk was about to espouse in the name of Henry VI. king of England. This prince acted in the affair as a private person would have done; that is, he chose Margaret before all the other ladies that were offered him, upon the score of her beauty, wit, and character. When the festival was over, they returned to business.

Charles VII. required the emperor Frederic to fulfil his engagements, and indemnify him for the expences he had been at in the War against the Switzers. Frederic used so many shifts and artifices to elude the king's demands, that his majesty was obliged to apply to the diette, which was then sitting at Bopart. Fenestrange and Bayers came thither as his ambassadors, and laid open the causes of the king's dissatisfaction with the emperor; at the same time they complained of the perfidiousness of the marquiss of Baden, who having desired the dauphin to entrust him with his artillery, had suffered it to be carried off by the Soldiers of Schelestat, in conjunction with his own subjects. But the king could never obtain any satisfaction. Frederic assigned unjust reasons for his breach of Faith, and the marquiss of Baden pretended, that neither he nor his subjects were in the least acquainted with the injury which had been done to the French.

Whilst

Whilst these affairs were transacting in the diet of Bopart, there was held an assembly at Rheims, upon matters which at once concerned the king and the duke of Burgundy, and the house of Anjou. That we may the better discern what were the particular interests of France, and of the house of Burgundy, it will be necessary to trace them back from their original.

After the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was dismembered, the dutchy of Burgundy being re-united to the crown, was given in apanage to Robert of France, the third son of king Robert and Constance of Provence. The first branch of the dukes of Burgundy of the house of France being extinguished by the death of Philip I. s<sup>ays</sup> de Rouvre, Burgundy was again united to the crown in 1361, under king John, who in 1363, invested in it Philip his fourth son, surnamed the Bold, in consideration of his having constantly fought by his side in the battle of Poitiers, and of his having been wounded and taken prisoner with him. This prince in 1369, married Margaret, countess of Flanders and Artois, the widow of his predecessor Philip I.

The power of the first dukes, or even of the ancient kings of Burgundy, had never arrived at the height to which it was carried by Philip the Bold and his descendants. The conquests and alliances of these princes rendered their house one of the most powerful in all Europe. There were few sovereign princes, who were equal to it in power, and all were inferior to it in magnificence. The territories, enjoyed by the second house of Burgundy, shew that it was worthy of the greatest kings. The number of its officers was prodigious, and their several functions were set down and distinguished in a regular table, which undoubtedly was invented by the dukes, or at least we know not from whence they borrowed it. This was carried into the house of Austria by Mary the

daughter and heir of the last duke of Burgundy, and from thence passed into the court of Spain; but the princes, who adopted it, not having the magnificence of the house of Burgundy, kept only to the strictness of the list.

Too powerful vassals have always been the most dangerous enemies of the monarchy; subjects should have an interest in defending it, and should not be in a condition to divide it. The dukes of Burgundy, not satisfied with the possession of large dominions, attempted to have a share in the government of the kingdom. Philip the Bold laid claim to the regency during the minority of his nephew king Charles VI. He would afterwards have seized on the government, upon the infancy of Charles, had not Lewis duke of Orleans, the king's brother, opposed his pretensions. Thence arose the hatred which so long subsisted between the houses of Orleans and Burgundy, and to which the people were the unfortunate victims.

John the Fearless, the son of Philip the Bold, succeeding in 1404, to the estates and ambition of his father, became the declared enemy of the duke of Orleans, whom at last he caused to be assassinated. He even scrupled not publickly to avow the crime, and found a mercenary priest, who was not ashamed to write in defence of it.

The majority of the princes espoused the cause of the house of Orleans. Those of this league were named Armagnacs, from the count of Armagnac, one of their chiefs, and afterwards constable. Imagination falls short of the horrible actions by which the Armagnacs and Burgundians signalized themselves. The particulars of them at present would not so much as seem probable, so opposite are they to the genius of the French nation, and contrary to humanity. Nothing but murders, robberies, and conflagrations. The very hangman had the command of

a band of plunderers, and as partnership in crimes renders the criminals in a manner equal, he had the insolence to shake hands with the duke of Burgundy.

The dauphin Charles placed himself at the head of the Armagnacs, and for no other reason, but because they were Enemies to the Burgundians. The men of probity, who groaned under the grievances of the state, took pains to promote a reconciliation between the two parties. The dauphin and duke John the Fearless in 1419, consented to an interview upon the bridge of Montereau, whither they came attended each with ten followers; but the duke of Burgundy having passed the barrier, and bending one knee to the ground in complement to the dauphin, Tarnegui du Chatel cleft his Head asunder with the stroke of an ax, in revenge for the death of the duke of Orleans.

This action, which one would have thought might have destroyed the Burgundian party, served only to add fresh fuel to the former flame, and give the colour of justice to their greater fury. Philip the Good, the son of John the Fearless, and Margaret of Bavaria, the daughter of Albert count of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, covering his ambition with the mask of filial piety, signalized his hatred against France, under a shew of revenging his father's death. The world in general favoured the Burgundian cause; they forgot the first beginnings and motives of the war, and cast their views only upon the odious assassination. The seeming moderation of Philip threw a mist before the Eyes of the People, and made him only the more dangerous. He entered into a league with the English, and was the principal author of their successes, and our ill fortune. France was in so desperate a situation, that no regard was had to the glory of the nation, the chief aim being then to find out proper means for preventing its total ruin. Duke Philip, in yielding to an accommodation, gave  
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the finishing stroke to the humiliation of Charles VII. by the shameful treaty which his majesty was obliged to sign. This was the treaty of Arras concluded in 1435, at the solicitation of the council and the pope.

The duke of Burgundy, in the preamble of the letters patents preceding the articles, expresses himself thus: *The king's ambassadors having presented us with a writing to the following effect; These are the proposals which we Charles of Bourbon and the ambassadors of the king, make to my lord the duke of Burgundy, for and in the name of the said king; 1st, That the king will say, or by his proper officers will cause to be said, to my said lord the duke of Burgundy, that the death of my late lord duke John his father was unjustly, wrongfully, and by ill advice, compassed by those who committed the said crime; that he ever was displeas'd with it, and at present dislikes it with all his heart; and that if he had known of the said offence, and had been of a like age and understanding as at present, he would to the utmost of his power have strove to prevent it; but that he was then very young and unknowing, and not considerate enough to provide against it; and will farther pray my said lord of Burgundy, that all the hatred and rancour, which he may have conceived against him for this cause, may be entirely laid aside, and good peace and amity established between them; and of this he will make express mention in the letters which shall be drawn up of the agreement and treaty between them.*

Then follow the articles of the treaty. *First, The king shall ask pardon of the said duke, by declaring himself to be innocent of the murder committed on the person of the duke of Burgundy his father; and that if he had known of any such design, he would have prevented it to the utmost of his power.*

*Item, The king shall make enquiry throughout his kingdom after the accomplices of the said murder, and shall*

shall cause them to be taken and corporally punished, according to the nature of the said crime.

Item, The king shall found a chapel at Montereau, where this offence was committed, in which a mass of Requiem shall be daily celebrated for ever for the repose of the said duke's soul.

Item, The king shall erect a priory of twelve Carthusian monks near the said town, to pray for the soul of the said duke.

Item, The king shall be obliged to set up a very sumptuous cross on the bridge of the said town of Montereau, in memory of the displeasure he has conceived against the said murders.

By the other articles, his majesty was obliged to give up to the duke of Burgundy all the towns upon the river Sommé, as Amiens, Abbeville, St. Quentin, Peronne, and others, which in effect was all Picardy.

And then the duke concludes in the following terms. *We, by the reverence of God, moved by the pity we have for the poor people of this kingdom, and by the prayers, lamentations, and submissions of the said cardinals and ambassadors of our holy father the pope, and the holy council of Basil, who have laid it before us as a duty required of us by God, have made a good and loyal peace and reconciliation with my said lord the king, upon the above-written conditions, which on the part of my said lord and his successors are to be performed and fulfilled towards us.*

Hard as the conditions of this treaty were, the king submitted to them, in order to procure peace for his subjects; a sacrifice the more considerable, as the treaty was injurious only to himself, and in a monarchical state the glory and shame of events particularly regard the prince, the subjects being in a manner confined to the good or ill resulting from them. Notwithstanding all the precautions taken to secure the peace, it was often upon the point of being

ing broken, either by the jealousies prevailing among the princes, or by open acts of hostility. Mareschal de Culant, S. Simon, and the other officers, to whom the dauphin had left the command of his troops, marched through Burgundy and Franche-Comté, and there committed great ravages. This was one of the grievances to be redressed in the assembly at Rheims, by the plenipotentiaries of the king, and those of the duke of Burgundy. The remainder of king Reignier's ransom that was yet unpaid was likewise to be brought under debate, and the ancient quarrels decided, which were subsisting between the houses of Anjou and Burgundy.

Though the duke's complaints were reasonable; there did not seem to be any great inclination towards doing him justice. Reignier preserved a strong resentment of the prison, wherein he had been confined by the duke of Burgundy. The dauphin passionately desired to revenge the defeat of his troops, which had been beaten by the mareschal of Burgundy. And these two princes incensed the king, who sought only for a proper opportunity of humbling a vassal that was too powerful. The war would have inevitably broke out again, if the dutchess of Burgundy, who had bore a considerable share in obtaining the peace of Arras, had not made it a point of honour to support it. She came to Châlons-sur-Marne with a very splendid retinue, and was there waited upon by the king and the dauphin. Never had the court been so gay and magnificent. The address of the dutchess, and possibly the prevailing pleasures, which have frequently a very great influence in matters of the highest consequence, brought about a reconciliation. It was agreed, that Reignier should give up to the duke of Burgundy the vale of Cassel for the remainder of his ransom, and that the duke should give Reignier in exchange Neuchâtel, Gondrecourt, and Clermont in Argonne. All the  
other



other differences between France and Burgundy were made up, and the peace confirmed; but the festivals, wherewith it was ushered in, and which afterwards followed, were concluded with a very sorrowful issue, by the death of the dauphiness Margaret of Scotland.

Ingenuity and judgment, noble sentiments and great good nature, were all united in this princess; and these extraordinary endowments, which gained her universal admiration, were farther set off with a graceful person, which rendered them amiable. To be virtuous was the proper means of making court to her; whoever deserved her favour was sure to obtain it; and it oft sufficed to stand in need of it. Being informed, that a certain knight, who distinguished himself in a tournament, wanted those assistances of fortune which are always needful to merit, she sent him a present of three hundred crowns, a very large sum at that time of day, and for a princess who often wanted necessaries. She was passionately fond of learning. One day, seeing Alain Chartier asleep, she gave him a kiss, and observing the people about her to stand in amaze, she said, *It was not the man she had kissed, but the mouth that had uttered such fine discourses.* However, neither the virtues nor the high station of this princess preserved her from calumny.

Whilst the court was at Nanci, Jametz du Tillay, bailiff of Vermandois, went one evening to the palace of the dauphiness. She had with her the sieur de Mainville, and another person, who stood at some little distance. The chamber had no other light in it but the blaze of a large fire. Du Tillay said, that it was a shame they should leave madame the dauphiness so. This discourse was repeated and ill-construed, though du Tillay afterwards excused himself by saying, that he never meant to blame any other than the princess's servants for their  
negli-

negligence in not lighting up her apartments. However, as he was a person of very little judgment, a great talker, and very indiscreet, a kind of men to be dreaded even by their friends, he cast several odious reflections upon the ladies who attended on the dauphiness, and particularly on the demoiselles of Salignac, Pregente, and Fillotte. What he began by indiscretion, he farther carried on by treachery; 'tis even said, that he caused several anonymous letters filled with calumnies to be written to the king. The king shewed by his silence, that he despised them, and would have had them concealed from the knowledge of the dauphiness. She was long the subject of discourse without knowing it; but at last these reproachful speeches reached her ears, and gave her a great deal of trouble; however, instead of seeking to gratify her revenge, she lamented in secret, and sought for consolation in religion. One hot day walking from the castle of Sarry near Châlons, to the church of Nôtre Dame de l'Epine, she was seized with a pleurisy, which being added to her former grief, carried *Aug. 16.* her off in a few days. During her illness, she made continual protestations of her innocence against the calumnies of *that honest man*, as she called du Tillay.

The confessor of this unhappy princess found a good deal of difficulty to prevail upon her to pardon her calumniator, and her last words were, *Out upon life, talk of it to me no more.* She was interred in the cathedral church of Châlons, and four and thirty years after by order of Lewis XI. was translated to Tours, where she was deposited in a chapel which herself had founded.

This princess was generally regretted. The clamours against du Tillay were so great, that the king was obliged by letters patents to appoint \* Tudert  
master

\* Dated May 27, 1446.

master of the requests, and Thiboust counsellor in parliament, to inform against him. The queen even suffered herself to be interrogated; the only difference between her interrogation and that of the other witnesses being, that she was not examined upon oath, and was interrogated by the chancellor Juvenal des Ursins, assisted by William Cousinot, master of the requests. Her majesty's deposition is still in being with the other informations, which charges du Tillay, if not with downright calumny, at least with a great deal of indiscretion. Reginald du Dresnay, Lewis de Laval, and several others apprehending these procedures to be injurious to the memory of the dauphiness, would have vindicated her honour by a duel, but Charles the VIIth would not admit of it; he even prohibited all those, who had distinguished themselves too warmly upon this occasion, from coming to court; and thus the matter was stifled.

The last offices of duty were scarce paid to the dauphiness before her sisters arrived in France; at the same time these princesses had the news of their mother's death, whom they had just left behind them in Scotland. They passed, according to the custom of that time, the three first months of their mourning without going out of their chamber. The king omitted no opportunity of consoling them; his design was to have married one of them to the dauphin; and, with this view, he attempted to get a dispensation. Cardinal Torquemada, or de Turre-cremata, says, that it was refused. The brief which Pope Eugenius dispatched to the dauphin, does not express the subject whereon it was written. Nov. 26.

Leonore, the eldest of the Scottish princesses, was, some time after, married to Sigismund, duke of Austria; the other went back into 1446.  
into

into Scotland, and was married to a lord of the country.

Lewis, who applied himself constantly to business, endeavoured to put an end to the affair, which had lain so long undecided, between the dauphins and the princes of Savoy. When Dauphiné was united to France in 1349, \* Amedéus VI. count of Savoy,

\* Humbert II. dauphin of Viennois, playing one day with his only child, then an infant, at a window in his palace of Grenoble, which opened upon the Isere, had the misfortune to let him fall into that river. Finding himself then without children, he resolved to adopt a successor, and by an Act passed at Vincennes in 1343, chose Philip duke of Orleans, the younger son of king Philip de Valois. The year after he altered the principal article of the treaty, *i. e.* instead of Philip duke of Orleans, who, by the treaty of 1343, was called to the succession of Dauphiné, and in case of failure on his side, John duke of Normandy, his eldest brother, in the treaty of 1344, duke John was substituted in the place, and entitled to all the rights of Philip, who was hereby totally excluded, and in recompence for his renunciation of the succession to Dauphiné, had given to him, the County of Beaumont-le-Roger, the lands which Robert de Artois held in Normandy, and the viscounty of Breteuil. The execution of this treaty was left uncertain by means of the following clause, which the dauphin had inserted; *Provided that the count dauphin should die without heirs male or female, born in lawful marriage.* Now the dauphin was then about thirty years of age, and Mary des Baux, his wife, was young. This princess dying in 1347, her husband, who had kept possession of her estate, thought of marrying again, and would have had Jane of Bourbon, daughter of duke Peter of Bourbon. But this marriage not succeeding, by reason of the supervening obstacles, Humbert required that his successor should not only bear the character of dauphin, but likewise that he should be married to Jane of Bourbon. As therefore the duke of Normandy was, at that time, married to Bonne of Luxembourg,

Savoy, surnamed the *Comte-vert*, whose ancestors had frequently given trouble to the Dauphins about the

emburg, he could not be dauphin, and, for this reason, offered to give up his pretensions to Charles his eldest son, who was afterwards called Charles V. surnamed the *Wife*.

The dauphin now turning his mind entirely to devotion, gave up the direction of his conscience to John Buel, general of the Carthusians, and of his temporal affairs to Henry de Villars, Archbishop of Lyons, who was at the head of his councils, and in the interest of the king.

The general of the Carthusians kept him up in his disposition to renounce the world, and the Archbishop of Lyons fixed him on the choice of Charles, the grandson of Philip de Valois, and eldest son to John duke of Normandy, for his successor.

The contract of the donation of Dauphiné, made him by the dauphin Humbert II. was passed at Romans on the 30th of March 1349. Nor was there any material change in it from the first contract made in 1343, except that of the Persons to whom it was given.

The investiture of Dauphiné was granted to the new dauphin in the town of Lyons, on the 16th of July, in the presence of John his father, duke of Normandy. Humbert girt round him the dauphinal sword, and put into his hands the scepter and banner of St. Gregory, and then divested himself of the marks of his ancient dignity, to take upon him the habit of a Jacobin.

Pope *Clement VI.* seconded admirably well the interest of Philip de Valois, who, notwithstanding the treaty made with Humbert, had reason to apprehend the natural inconstancy of this prince. For which reason, that he might be put for ever after out of a condition to alter what he had done, king John, who had lately succeeded Philip de Valois, engaged the pope to confer upon him some ecclesiastical dignities. Clement, under a pretext of farther honouring the dauphin Humbert, by doing something extraordinary for him, conferred upon him in one day the offices of subdeacon, and deacon, together with

the limits of their territories, grew apprehensive that he should have the like contestations with France; and, in the year 1354, proposed to king John to fix the limits of

with the priesthood. This was done on Christmas-day 1350, and at the same time he made him patriarch of Alexandria, and granted him the administration of the archbishopsrick of Rheims. This we learn from a contemporary author, *Dicitur vero papa ipsum (Imbertum) instanne & procurante Johanne, rege Franciæ . . . fecit patriarcham Alexandrinum, & ecclesiam Remensem sibi perpetuo commendavit, & causâ ipsum magis honorandi, ne forte à præmissis in posterum posset resilire, in propria nocte natalis domini ipsum ad omnes sacros ordines uno contextue ordinavit.*

Charles V. therefore is the first of our kings who ever bore the title of dauphin; and this title has always been that of their eldest sons, though not stipulated by the several treaties of the cession of Dauphiné, and was even at first designed for the second son of Philip de Valois. However, Marcel says, it was declared by the king's own motion, that Dauphiné should be re-united to the Crown, and that the eldest son of France should alone bear the title of dauphin. The expression of *re-united to the crown* is not altogether just; for Dauphiné is not incorporated with the kingdom, but forms in some respects a separate state; for which reason it is, that in all the letters which concern this province, the king takes the title of dauphin of Viennois. So Humbert, in the contract made with Philip de Valois in 1343, expressly inserted this condition, that the dominions he gave could not be re-united to the kingdom, *but so far as the empire should be united to it*, as Dauphiné had always belonged to the empire; that the king should not enjoy it, but at such time as he had no issue male, and that as soon as he had a son born, that son should by his birth become sovereign of Dauphiné, without any other title than that of his birth.

The name of dauphin, however, was not in such wise the title of the king's eldest sons, but that sometimes the addition of other provinces in France was set before it, in  
case

of Dauphiné and Savoy. The exchange, which was then made, proved very advantageous to the court of Savoy, through the unfaithfulness of Aymar de Poitiers, governor of Dauphiné, who was entrusted with this affair, and had taken a bribe of the count. Neither was the count of Savoy more punctual in the execution of the treaty, as thinking to draw an advantage from the unhappy state to which France was reduced after the battle of Poitiers. In 1377, there was another treaty, which was, in like manner, no better executed. The dauphin was minded at last to put an end to all these contestations, and appointed Peter de Brezé to treat with \* Lewis I. then duke of Savoy. This Prince offered

case it belonged to these princes. Charles V. who had constantly bore the name of dauphin from 1349, upon being created duke of Normandy in 1355, was called by this last title, till the death of his father king John in 1364, and never used the title of dauphin, but after that of duke of Normandy. Froissart always calls him duke of Normandy, and F. Martene has given us a letter from pope Innocent VI. addressed *ad Carolum, ducem Normannie.*

When Charles VI. was born, his father Charles V. says the great chronicle of France, *gave him Dauphiné, that he might be called Monseigneur le Dauphin.*

When Lewis the dauphin, son of Charles VI. was made duke of Guyenne, he was constantly called by this last appellation. Juvenal des Ursins calls him *Monsieur de Guyenne*, and his wife *Madame de Guyenne*. But from the time of Charles VII. who during his father's life-time, and after the death of his elder brothers, constantly bore the title of dauphin, all the eldest sons of our kings have ever had no other name, and when the addition of any other provinces was given to them, it was constantly put after that of dauphin. Thus Henry II. before he ascended the throne, styled himself *Henry, the king's eldest son, dauphin of Viennois, and duke of Britany.*

\* Lewis I. was the son of Amedeus V. III. who first bore the title of duke of Savoy.

offered to desist from all his pretensions to the countries of Valentinois and Diois, and, further, to advance the sum of 40,000 crowns, upon condition the dauphin would give up to him the homage of Foucigni, and several other places, which were yielded by the treaties of exchange made in 1354, and 1377. Brezé, whom the duke of Savoy had gained, by giving him the county of Maulevrier, persuaded the dauphin, who placed great confidence in him, to accept of the duke's proposal: and thus the treaty was ratified at Chinon by the king and the dauphin. Ralph de Gaucourt was appointed to take possession of the places which the duke was to give back, and Dammartin was sent into Savoy to receive the 40,000 crowns he was to pay.

Whilst the dauphin employed his whole care in preventing disturbances in Dauphiné, it vexed him sorely to see the court divided by factions, and his father governed by his ministry; it requiring greater dexterity to behave agreeably in the hurries of a court, than to be useful in serving the state. But the dauphin thought that intermeddling with court-intrigues, was an office far beneath him, and did not conceal his dissatisfaction; and to have any share in the king's favour was a sufficient cause to incur his displeasure. He treated the ministers with contempt, and shewed no more respect to Agnes Sorel. Gaguin goes so far as to say, that he gave her a box on the ear; and that it was for this presumption he was obliged to leave the court, and retire into Dauphiné. But without giving credit too easily to this circumstance, there fell out at this time an affair of sufficient consequence to have been the sole cause of the dauphin's retreat. His highness resolving to oppose the ministry, formed a party, whereof John de Daillon, Lewis de Beuil, and Lewis de Laval, lord of Chatillon, were the principal members. When the count of Dammartin was returned out of Savoy,  
the



the dauphin likewise entrusted him with his project, but Dammartin, either jealous of those who shared with him in the prince's favour, or disapproving of the enterprize, discovered all to the king, and told him that when the court was at Razilly, the dauphin had demanded of him several archers of the Scottish guards, and that with the gentlemen of his household, and those who were devoted to him, he had designed to have made himself master of the castle, and secured his majesty's person. This deposition of Dammartin threw the king into a terrible alarm. Cunningham, the commanding officer of the Scottish guards, with several archers of that company, was taken into custody. The dauphin's associates either privately made their escape, or, to obtain their pardon, came and gave information.

The king caused his son to be brought before him, and reproached him with his ingratitude. The dauphin denied the fact, and told Dammartin he lyed. Dammartin in a rage made answer, that he knew the respect which was due to his master's son, but offered to make good what he had advanced against any of the dauphin's household, who should dare to oppose him. The king, thoroughly persuaded of his son's offence, ordered him to retire into Dauphiné. Several of the Scottish guards were executed, and Cunningham, their commanding officer, owed his pardon purely to the sollicitation of the king of Scots. Some days before the dauphin's departure the queen was delivered of a son: this was Charles duke of Berry, of whom frequent mention will be made hereafter.

As soon as Lewis was arrived in Dauphiné, he called an assembly of the states at Romans. Yves de Sepeaux, the dauphin's chancellor, demanded in this assembly the gratuity of 40,000 florins; and the states granted it with this clause, that it was a pure  
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Feb. 4.

and free gift, and granted without prejudice to their privileges and liberties. The gratuity was afterwards augmented, and constantly with the same clause; which as it carries an image of liberty, is still some consolation to those who have lost it. There were frequent contests upon this subject: the dauphin at first demanded more than he had a design to obtain, that he might seem to make some compliance, when they granted him what he really aimed at. Besides the revenues of Dauphiné, he had in his possession the confiscated estates of the count d'Armagnac, Chateau-Thierry, the county of Comminges, and the châtellanies of Rouergue.

Lewis gave himself up entirely to the regulation of his dominions, and reduced the balliages, which were very numerous, to two, and one sénéchalcy. As he was passionately fond of hunting, he prohibited this exercise, nor would suffer a tree to be cut down in the Dauphinal forests. He took an account of the administration of the finances, and governed with so much wisdom and discretion, that, notwithstanding the smallness of his revenues, and the few troops which he had, his reputation made him respected by all Europe. The Switzers, the duke of Savoy, the princes of Italy, the kings of Navarre, Arragon, and England, sought his alliance; and the republick of Genoa would have chose him for their master.

Few states have been subject to more revolutions than the state of Genoa. This city was originally one of the principal towns of Liguria, and became a *Municipium* of the Romans. After having been destroyed by Mago, the brother of Hanibal, and rebuilt by Spurius Lucretius, it remained under the Roman dominion till the invasion of Italy by the Goths. It was afterwards sacked by Rotharis king of the Lombards. Charlemagne having rebuilt it, annexed it to the empire of the Franks, under the  
government

government of a particular count. The first, named Audemar, defeated the Saracens, and conquered the isle of Corsica. Some time after the Saracens took Genoa, and put the greatest part of the inhabitants to the sword, or carried them captive into Africa. Those who were left behind, gave themselves up to traffick, repaired the city, and about the year 1100 formed a republick, whereof the government was in the hands of four principal families, which constituted two factions. The Spinolas and the Dorias on one side, and the Fiesques and the Grimaldis on the other, rent the bosom of their country, under a pretence of defending its liberties against their competitors. This unhappy republick, submitting by turns to consuls or a podesta, underwent, for near three centuries, all the ills attending upon anarchy and tyranny, under the form of a free government, till the people, wearied out with the dissensions and avarice of the nobility, in 1257, made choice of William Boccanegra to govern the state under the title of captain.

The nobles soon made themselves masters of the government again, and as the factions of the Guelfs and Gibelins began to take place about that time, it was again divided between two parties. The Grimaldines and the Fiesques went over to the Guelfs, and the Dorias and the Spinolas as soon became Gibelins; and the latter having gained the advantage over their rivals, the former were expelled the city, and obliged to take refuge in Naples: but the Guelfs in time regaining the superiority transferred the sovereignty of Genoa to Robert king of Naples.

Whilst the Genoese were thus unhappy at home by their civil wars, they signalized themselves abroad by their conquests. They had long and bloody contests with the inhabitants of Pisa and the Venetians. The Pisans were brought under subjection,

jection, and the power of Venice must have yielded to the Genoese, if their own divisions had not made them lose the benefit of the advantages they had gained.

The Genoese, tired of changing their governors without being either more free or more happy, fought out for foreign lords. They submitted to the yoke of the emperor Henry VII. and Robert of Anjou, king of Naples, and then they returned again to their own countrymen. Simon Boccanegra, whose name was dear to the people, was, in 1339, chosen duke, or doge of Genoa. He subdued the party of the Guelfs, and made an ordinance, by which all the families, who had ever born offices in the state, from the first foundation of the republick, were declared noble. By this means the new duke, in augmenting the number of the nobility, in reality lessened their power, or, at least, the power of the principal families. He went even farther, and, by the same ordinance, declared all those to be citizens who had never been in any post, and upon these only the government of the republick was devolved under the authority of the doge. The families, which were then admitted to employments, became considerable, and gave rise to the distinction of the old and new nobility. The Grimaldis, the Fiesques, the Dorias, and the Spinolas, which were alternately the tyrants of the republick, found themselves under a necessity of complying; but what they durst not openly undertake, they brought about by address: they sowed jealousies between the Fregoses and the Adornes, who then divided the authority, and got Boccanegra deposed within five years after his election.

Henceforward we see nothing more than a sad alternative of aristocracy and democracy. The Genoese perpetually divided, and constantly unhappy, knew neither how to obey, or maintain their liberty.

When

When they could not agree among themselves, they gave up the sovereignty to different princes. They first put themselves under the duke of Milan, and then in 1395 under Charles VI. and after massacring the French in 1409, they chose the marquis of Montferrat to rule over them. Four years after, they returned to the Viscontis, to put themselves again under the French in 1458. Scarce had the republic recovered its liberty, before the ambition of the nobles, and the inconstancy of the people, plunged it again into fresh troubles, which ended in a subjection to a foreign yoke; nor did they after this enjoy a greater tranquillity. 'Tis observed, that from 1494 to 1528, the city of Genoa was governed in more than twelve different manners, by counts, consuls, podestats, captains, rectors, abbats of the people, reformers, and dukes chose out of the nobility, or from among the people. In 1527, in the reign of Francis I. Andrew Doria was so fortunate as to restore his country to liberty, and made himself still more illustrious, by refusing the sovereignty of it. He made a new ordinance, which limited the ancient noble families to eight and twenty, to which were afterwards added four and twenty others, that constituted the second class of the nobility. At present, the government of Genoa is entirely aristocratical; the doge, in whom the sovereignty seems to reside, is changed every two years, and only lends his name to the decrees of the grand council.

It was when the factions of the Fregoses and the Adornes were at the highest, that the Genoese cast their eyes upon the dauphin. But whilst Charles VII. was taking proper measures to make his advantage of their offers, John Fregose found means to get himself elected doge, and then let the French know, that as he was now sole master of Genoa, he was resolved to maintain his conquest. The king did not pursue

purſue the affair with much warmth, as it was the dauphin, whom the Genoefe had deſired to bear rule over them, and his council repreſented to him, that it was of leſs conſequence to loſe Genoa and all Italy, than to make the prince too powerful. Eleven years after in 1458, Genoa ſubmitted to Charles VII. who committed the government of it to John duke of Calabria.

In the mean time died pope Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. who ſucceeded him, beſought the king and the dauphin to uſe their endeavours to put an end to the ſchiſm which divided the church. The council of Baſil having depoſed Eugenius in 1439, had choſen Amadeus duke of Savoy. This prince had given up his dominions to his ſon, and retired to the caſtle of Ripaille near Geneva, where, with ſeveral of his courtiers, he led a very voluptuous life; however, as his retirement had made a great deal of noiſe, and his manner of living was not known, the council raiſed him to the pontificate under the name of *Felix V.* The oppoſite party to *Felix V.* having choſen Nicholas V. after the death of Eugenius, the king, who was deſirous of reſtoring peace to the church, ſent John Juvenal des Urſins, archbiſhop of Rheims, and the mareſchal de Fayette, as his embaffadors, to promote an accommodation between Felix and Nicholas. The dauphin gave the ſame commiſſion, with the ſame title, to the archbiſhop of Embrum, and the lord of Malicorne. After ſeveral Negotiations between the two parties, Felix reſigned the chair, and acknowledged pope Nicholas, who nominated Felix to the deanery of the ſacred college, and made him perpetual legate to the holy ſee in Savoy, Piedmont, and a part of Germany. The fathers of the council of Baſil acquieſced in the accommodation, paid obedience to Nicholas, and declared that the council was broke up. Thus did the king and the dauphin put an end to a ſchiſm which had laſted near ten years.

About

About this time there happened an accident, which gave the dauphin a great deal of trouble. One Mariette came from Dauphiné, and addressing himself to Brézé, told him, that the dauphin was preparing to return to court, was resolved to remove the king's ministers from about his person, and that his indignation was particularly to fall upon Brézé. This gentleman advises Mariette to apply himself directly to the king, without mentioning his name. Mariette having made his deposition, was sent back into Dauphiné to pick up farther information. The dauphin, upon notice of what had passed, caused him to be taken into custody. Under this confinement this wretched creature fell sick, and the dauphin, to prevent all suspicion of contributing to his death with a view of concealing the truth, caused all possible care to be taken of him. Upon his recovery he was carried to Paris, convicted of calumny, and condemned to die.

The year following the dauphin finished the affair of the donation of the counties of Clermont, Auvergne, and Sancerre, which had been made over to him by Robert bishop of Albi \*, for a yearly pension of six thousand crowns

\* Robert, bishop of Albi, the son of Bernard II. dauphin of Auvergne, and count of Clermont, and of Margaret de Sancerre, laid claim to the counties of Auvergne and Clermont, as the sole remaining heir male of the dauphins of Auvergne. The county of Sancerre belonged to him in right of his mother; but notwithstanding this claim, Anne his sister, by a former marriage; carried the counties of Auvergne and Clermont into the House of Bourbon-Montpensier, by her marriage with Lewis II. duke of Bourbon; after which they passed into the house of Orleans, by the marriage of Gaston of France with the Heiress of Montpensier. Louisa of Orleans, the only daughter of Gaston, who had the title of

crowns of gold. He abolished all the pretended rights of sovereignty, which the archbishop of Vienne, and the bishops of Gap, Valence and Die, had usurped during the wars of the dauphin with the counts of Provence; and to strengthen his authority still farther, he entered into a perpetual alliance with the duke of Savoy.

The small agreement there was between Charles VII. and the dauphin, made it suspected that the prince had given poison to Agnes Sorel, who died this year, very much lamented

1450. both by the king, the court, and the people. She never abused the royal favour, and united in her single person the extraordinary characters of a tender mistress, a faithful friend, and a good citizen. I know not why Alain Chartier should take so much pains to defend her chastity. Charles VII. had by her three daughters, Margaret, married to Oliver de Coitivi, seneschal of Guyenne; Charlotte, to James de Brézé, seneschal of Normandy; and Jane, to Anthony de Beuil, count of Sancerre.

The dauphin having settled order in his estates, acquainted the king with his design to marry Charlotte of Savoy. The king made answer, that he did by no means approve of his contracting any alliance, till the war with England was at an end; and that if peace was made between the two crowns, he intended for him a daughter of the duke of Buckingham's,

*Mademoiselle*, gave them by will to Philip of France, duke of Orleans, the brother of Lewis XIV.

As to the county of Sancerre, Margaret the Bishop's sister, by the same marriage, carried it into the house of Beuil, by her marriage with John IV. lord of Beuil. This house was settled in the possession of it by the marriage of Anthony de Beuil, the grandson of John, with Jane the natural sister of Lewis XI. who had purchased the claim of the bishop of Albi.



ingham's, of the royal family of England. The dauphin, who was less minded to ask his father's advice, than to obtain his consent in a point he had already resolved upon, dispatched Chauffon and Blosset, to inform his majesty of the advantageous terms proposed by the duke of Savoy, to wit, 260,000 crowns in gold, with forces sufficient to make a conquest of the Milaneze. The same deputies were farther ordered to desire the king to give up Guyenne to the dauphin, which he undertook to conquer at his own expence.

As this prince had already discovered the tendency of his disposition, the more advantageous his proposals appeared, the more carefully were they discussed. The council were of opinion, that it was safer for the state to leave Guyenne in the hands of the English, than to contribute to the augmentation of the dauphin's power. Lewis, without troubling himself much about the king's consent, bent his mind wholly upon bringing his marriage to a conclusion, and gave a commission to Yves de Sepeaux, and Aimar de Poisieu, says Capdorat, to go into Savoy, and agree upon the articles. The natural son of the count de Armagnac, seneschal of Dauphiné, and Anthony Colomier, general of the finances, went afterwards to Geneva, where they signed the \* contract, which was ratified at Chalant.

By this contract, the duke gave with his daughter two hundred thousand crowns in gold, of seventy to the mark, whereof fifteen thousand were to be paid upon signing the contract, fifteen thousand more upon the delivery of the princess, and twenty thousand after the celebration of the marriage. The remaining one hundred and fifty thousand were laid upon the imposts and customs of Nice and Verceil, out of which were

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\* It was signed on the 14th, and ratified the 23d of February.

to be paid fifteen thousand every year till the whole was paid ; and the dauphin gave to the dauphiness a dowry of ten thousand crowns, which was not to be fixed till after the consummation of the marriage. It was farther stipulated, that when she came to be twelve years old, she should renounce all claim to the succession of the duke and dutchess of Savoy.

In the beginning of March the dauphin went to Chamberi. The night before the solemnization of the marriage, there came an herald from the king to oppose it, and to threaten the duke of Savoy with his resentment, if he proceeded in it any farther. He declared, that Charles did not despise the alliance of the house of Savoy, but that he was extremely surprized that this marriage should be concluded without his permission. Chauffon found out the herald, and demanded his credentials. The herald, who at first pretended to come from the count de Dunois to give this advice to the duke, being pressed by Chauffon, said, that he would deliver them only into the duke's hands ; but upon hearing that he could have no audience that day, and that the dauphin was to be married the day following, he delivered them to him. These letters, however, did not prevent the celebration of the marriage ; but when it was over, the dauphin and duke sent back the herald with letters to the king and queen. The duke declared in his, that he had never doubted, but that the dauphin had obtained his majesty's consent, and that the ceremony of the marriage was over before the herald had delivered his credentials.

The king was by no means satisfied with this answer, but thought fit to express his discontent no otherwise than by shewing a great deal of indifference towards his son.

Besides the ordinary gratuity, the states of Dauphiné consented, upon the dauphin's remonstrances, to grant him a present for the happy arrival of the dauphiness;

dauphines, upon condition that every town should voluntarily tax itself. At first they offered him only about six or seven thousand florins; but he used so many solicitations, that they at last advanced this present to twenty-one thousand florins.

The dauphin, who had caused new \* coin to be struck without calling in the old, to make the specie more common, suffered all kinds of foreign coin to pass current.

This prince, by encouraging trade in his dominions, sought to introduce an universal peace, and published a declaration, prohibiting all gentlemen from making war upon each other. These private feuds, which had been kept up in several provinces from time immemorial, were always dropt when the crown declared war; but they were only suspended for a season; they were soon rekindled with greater warmth, and filled the kingdom with slaughter and violence. The gentry looked upon this barbarous custom as the most noble of their privileges. Humbert had expressly stipulated for the keeping of it up, when he surrendered Dauphiné. The declaration, which abolished it, continued in force, whilst the dauphin supported it with his presence; but after his

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retreat

\* As I shall have frequent occasion to speak of coin, it may not be amiss to set down here the proportion which the current money bore to the real species. From 1456 to 1461, the year wherein Charles the VIIth died, the mark in gold was worth a hundred livres, and the mark in silver eight livres fifteen sols. From 1461, the first year of Lewis XI. till the time of his death in 1483, the mark in gold was advanced to a hundred and eighteen livres, ten sols, and the mark in silver to ten livres. Seventy-two crowns in gold went to the mark, and the current value of these was thirty sols, and three deniers. The species of gold was of the purity of twenty-three karats and a half; and the species of silver was eleven deniers, twelve grains. *See le Blanc.*

retreat into Burgundy, these engagements began again, and in 1460 we find Ralph de Comb defeating James de Lompar. They appeared before Grenoble with upwards of sixty gentlemen, nor could the parliament prevail upon them to lay down their arms.

Lewis would have lived peaceably enough in Dauphiné, if the king's favourites had not stirred up the father against the son. Charles began by withdrawing his pensions, and took from him

1452. Beaucaire, Château-Thierry, and the Châtellenies of Rouergue. Lewis im-

mediately dispatched Estiffac to make remonstrances to his majesty; but as these were rejected, the dauphin entered into an agreement with the count de Armagnac, and gave up to him the Châtellenies and Beaucaire for twenty-two thousand crowns in gold. The king hereby more provoked against his son, advanced with his forces towards the Lyonnais. The dauphin represented to him, that he was informed of all the ill offices that were done him at court, that they had a design to drive him out of Dauphiné, and even to cut him off from the succession to the crown. The king made answer, that he had been misinformed concerning the cause of his march; but that indeed he received complaints of his male-administration from every quarter, that he desired him to alter his conduct, or that otherwise he should be obliged to animadvert upon it as became his father and his king.

Upon this answer the dauphin besought his majesty, that he would be pleased to send a prince of the blood, or some other person of distinction, who might give him an account of the administration of Dauphiné, and not require his personal appearance, as he was not ignorant that all the ministers and favourites being his enemies, he could not appear at court with safety. The dauphin at the same time dropped an insinuation, that if they drove him to despair,

spair, he should resolve to quit the kingdom. Charles, who was afraid of carrying his son to that extremity, sent John de Jambes, lord of Montforeau, and John de Estouteville, lord of Torci, master of the Crossbows, to let him know, that his majesty required no more of him than to support the rights of the churches in Dauphiné; to give no disturbance to John du Chatel, whom the pope had nominated to the archbishoprick of Vienne; to restore to the church of Lyons the places he had wrongfully taken from it; and to send back to his majesty all such as had quitted his service to go over into Dauphiné.

Torci and Montforeau returned to court, and spared no pains to dispose the king to give a favourable reception to the answer, which the dauphin soon after sent by the archbishop of Embrun, Courcillon, Bernes, and Fautrier.

After protestations of inviolable fidelity, the prince promised the king, that he would never hereafter receive any person at his court, that should be disagreeable to his majesty, and consented to submit all the ecclesiastical disputes to the judgment of cardinal d'Estouteville. This Prelate, who was as much distinguished by his merit as his birth, had been sent into France by pope Nicholas V. to make up the differences between France and England, to settle the affair of the pragmatick sanction, and to solicit in favour of James Coeur, who was then under prosecution.

James Coeur, the son of a merchant of Bourges, was brought up to trade from his infancy, and acquired such prodigious wealth, as made some persons, who had less understanding than taste for the marvellous, suspect him of having found out the philosopher's stone. His secret consisted in a vast and enterprising genius, a continual application, and a probity which had procured him the confidence of all the merchants in Europe and Asia. He

was made the steward of the king's coin, and master of the mint at Bourges. He obtained the archbishoprick of that city for his brother, and the bishoprick of Luçon for his son. His credit was frequently useful to the state, and of great influence in the government. 'Twas he who furnished the sums necessary for the conquest of Normandy. However, the services he had done did not hinder, but that he was accused of exaction, extortion, and other crimes, particularly of having delivered up to the Saracens a christian slave, who had made his escape out of their hands; of having lent them considerable sums, and of having supplied them with arms and harness. The first article he absolutely denied; to the second he said, he had the king's verbal permission; but this, his majesty said, he did not recollect. We farther find by his indictment, that he was suspected of having given poison to Agnes Sorol, but nothing of this appears in the verdict. In short, Jane de Vendômes, lady of Mortagne, who was his accuser upon this head, was convicted of calumny, and banished the kingdom. As to the extortions whereof he was accused, they were probably no other than some little irregularities almost unavoidable, and possibly not so much as known, to persons engaged in great dealings; such irregularities as would never be judged criminal, but where passion rather than justice shall interpret a law to the utmost rigour. 'Tis said, that this prosecution of James Coeur was brought about by the instigation of his enemy Dammartin; at least he had the greatest advantage in the confiscation of the goods of the party accused, who was condemned by sentence of the commissaries passed on the 19th of May 1453, to undergo an ignominious punishment, to pay a fine of 400,000 crowns, and to have his estate confiscated. The king gave him his life at the solicitation of the pope, *so whom he had done great services, and in consideration*

deration of those which the state had received from him. His riches were perhaps his only crime, as he was afterwards declared innocent by the parliament, and restored to the possession of his estate.

This gentleman, after his condemnation, settled in the island of Cyprus, where his credit, abilities, and reputation, which was not blemished by his disgrace, raised him a more considerable fortune than that which he had lost.

Cardinal d'Estouteville not succeeding in his legation, either as to the peace, or the pragmatick sanction, was returning unsatisfied, and without waiting for the decision of the proceedings against James Coeur, who was not brought to his trial till the year after. He had already passed the mountains, when he received information that war was just ready to break out between the king and the duke of Savoy. Hereupon he returned back, and gave so happy a turn to the dispositions of these two princes, as to make peace between them, which was sealed at Clepir, near Feurs, by the marriage *Oct. 27.* of the princess of Yolande of France with Amadeus prince of Piedmont.

At the same time news was brought, that Talbot had made a descent in the Medoc, at the head of four or five thousand English, and that the town of Bourdeaux had opened its gates to him. The dauphin judged this a proper opportunity to regain his majesty's favour. Tho' the father and son were not yet come to an open rupture, yet they mutually distrusted each other. The king urged, that in all the deputations sent to him by his son, there were only indefinite protestations of fidelity and obedience, couched under all the general terms that persons usually make use of, who would avoid entering into express engagements. He complained, that his son declined to rely upon his word, which his greatest enemies had ever respected.

The dauphin, who at all events had laid up arms, and engaged a great number of gentlemen, whom he distributed into companies, would have made a merit of it with the king, and divert the suspicions he might have formed. He offered him his services against the English, protesting, that he desired nothing more than to sacrifice his life for him.

The king, not much affected with this procedure of his son, made answer, that Normandy and Guyenne had been conquered without his assistance, and that the troops he had raised, were neither designed for the service of his father, or the state; and thus they grew more and more incensed against each other.

Lewis's inquietudes, however, did not  
1453. hinder him from attending carefully to whatever might be of advantage to Dauphiné. Notwithstanding the opposition of the ordinary judges of Grenoble, and the bishop's official, he converted the dauphinal council into a parliament, whereof Francis Portier, procurator general of the states, and president of the chamber of accounts, was the first and only president. The

1454. year after he founded the university of Valence. Sometime after he published a famous edict concerning deeds of gift, made and executed in a man's life-time, which is still in force.

Tho' the dauphin found himself in such circumstances, as might oblige him to keep fair with his allies, he was, notwithstanding, very careful not to give up any of his rights. He declared war against the duke of Savoy about the homage of the marquisate of Saluces, which both of them laid claim to; however, he consented to an agreement, as being unwilling to create new enemies, whilst he was engaged in diverting the storm, which was raising against him at court.

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The withdrawing of his pensions, and the diminution of his revenue by the cession of the chattellenies of Auvergne, laid him under a necessity of increasing the taxes, and the misery to which they were reduced, made his subjects unable to pay them. Hence arose general complaints, which the dauphin's enemies did not fail to turn to his disadvantage. Whether the favourites of Charles had already set him against his son, or that they judged it was not more dangerous for them to have actually done it, than to be suspected of it by the dauphin, 'tis certain, that they now made it a principal part of their care to cherish the king's animosity. They knew, that at court none ought to be quarrelled with, but whom they were fully bent to ruin, and they conducted themselves upon this principle. Charles turned the deaf ear to whatever was proposed to him from his son, and passed into Auvergne. 1455. 1456.

Lewis alarmed at this step, immediately dispatched Courcillon, his grand falconer, to make his most humble remonstrances to the king. Charles refused to give him audience, and sent him a dismissal by the chancellor.

The dauphin solicited the prince of Orange, and those of Berry, to enter into his party; he likewise sought the assistance of the pope, and sent Courcillon again to the king, with Gaston du Lyon his carver, and Simon de Couvreur, prior of the Celestins at Avignon. Their instructions were very near the same with those of the former deputations, and consisted meerly in protestations of fidelity, and a desire not to return to court.

The king answered, that this last article did not agree well with the shews of obedience, which his son affected to put on; that he would do well to begin with removing from him his evil counsellors; that otherwise they knew how to chastise him, and bring

bring him back to his duty. The pope, the king of Castille, and the Duke of Burgundy endeavoured in vain to reconcile the son with the father. The severity of Charles was the consequence of his weakness, which suffered him to be blindly led by the impressions made on him by his ministers.

Dammartin in a letter to his majesty, told him, that the dauphin was arming all his subjects; that the bastard of Armagnac was at the head of his troops, and that his council was composed of Peter Meulhon, Aymard de Clermont, the bastard of Poitiers, John de Vilaines, de Neveu, Malortie, and Bournazel, who had each of them a company of an hundred lances; but that the greatest part of the gentry would declare for his majesty, as soon as he should enter Dauphiné. This letter carried the king's displeasure so high, that he ordered Dammartin to march against the dauphin, and secure his person.

Dammartin made haste to execute an order which gratified his private resentment; but the dauphin not relying upon his troops, nor depending any longer upon the forces of his household, under a pretence of riding out to hunt, went off to S. Claude, attended by some particular Officers. From hence he wrote to the king, desiring leave to join with the duke of Burgundy in his wars against the Turks. At the same time he sent a circular letter to all the clergy throughout the kingdom, requiring their prayers; it being his usual method to make supplications to heaven, when he thought himself without refuge from man. It was not without reason, that he distrusted his followers, Bernes, Malortie, and Chatillon, entered into engagements with the king, which they confirmed by oath. The dauphin chose rather to throw himself into the hands of generous enemies, than suspected friends; he applied himself

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to the prince of Orange, and was conducted to Brussels by the marshal of Burgundy.

Duke Philip, who was at Utrecht, upon information of the dauphin's arrival, behaved with equal prudence and generosity. He sent word to the king, that the prince was entered into his dominions without his previous knowledge, and that he should pay him all the honours due to the heir of the crown, 'till such time as he could bring about a reconciliation between him and his majesty. At the same time he sent orders to the duchess of Burgundy and the count de Charolois to treat the dauphin as the eldest son of their sovereign. When the duke returned to Brussels, the dauphin went to meet him. As soon as they came within sight of each other, they ran and embraced. The dauphin gave a detail of all his sufferings; and the duke, without either approving or blaming his conduct, made answer, that he might dispose of his person and fortune both for and against all persons whatsoever, except against his lord the king. The history of Lewis XI. will be so oft connected with that of the duke of Burgundy and the count de Charolois, that it may not be amiss to give here the character of those two princes.

The terror, which princes inspire, shews only their power, respect follows their dignity; but their real glory arises from the personal esteem and consideration which others have for them. Philip enjoyed these valuable advantages. He was sur-named the Good, a far more glorious addition than all the titles derived from the ambition of princes and the misery of mankind. He loved his people as much as he was beloved by them, and alike discharged his inclination and his duty, by making them happy; they paid those respects to his virtue which were due to his station. His conversation was amiable; he was addicted to pleasure, extremely fond of the ladies, and had the gayest court in Europe. But in  
doing

great many persecutions from the ministers. He plainly saw, that he had no other step to take than to continue at Genep, a small town of Brabant, which the duke had assigned him for his habitation, with a pension of 6000 livres a month for himself, and three thousand livres for the dauphiness, who came to him the year after. The bastard of Armagnac, and Montauban, received also each of them 2400 livres a year besides. These pensions were all paid beforehand, and yet proved insufficient, so that the dauphin was frequently obliged to borrow at large interest. We see by the accounts of his household, that he pawned a piece of gold stuff for 800 crowns. 'Tis said, that he would have borrowed a sum of money of Francis II. duke of Britany, which the duke refused to lend him, for fear of disobligeing the king; and that this refusal occasioned the misunderstanding which always subsisted between these two princes.

The countess of Charolois lying-in of a daughter, the duke desired the dauphin to stand  
 1457. god-father. She was named Mary;  
*Feb.* 12. 'twas she who was the sole heir of the  
 house of Burgundy, and the source of so  
 many wars, as are not yet entirely eradicated.

There fell out, at this time, an affair in the court of Burgundy, which gave the dauphin a great deal of trouble. The two principal chamberlains of the count de Charolois being absent, Anthony Rolin the third chamberlain laid claim to the service, as belonging to his office. This honour was disputed with him by Philip de Croy, lord of Querrain, the son of the lord of Chimay. The duke, who loved the house of Croy, supported the pretensions of Querrain; and the count of Charolois, who hated the Croys, defended the claim of Rolin, and urged in his favour the estate of the family.

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The duke provoked with his son's opposition, ordered a register of that estate to be brought to him, and threw it in the fire before his face. The count would in all probability have swerved from the respect which was due to his father, if the dutchess had not given him a sign to withdraw. The duke in a passion called for his horse, and rode where-ever the creature carried him; and night coming on, he was obliged to take up his lodging in a collier's cottage. His officers not finding him return, took different routs in quest of him, and were under a most terrible fright till they had found him. The dauphin was apprehensive lest his disagreements with his father should make him suspected of diffusing discord where-ever he came; for which reason he prevailed upon the count of Charolois, who had retired to Dendermond, to return to court, and never left the duke 'till he had reconciled him with his son.

Lewis had farther the mortification of being the innocent cause of some severe reproaches, which the duke of Burgundy cast upon the count of Charolois, by means of an hunting-match. Lewis having lost his way, the count came back by himself. The duke fell into a most violent passion, bad his son go find him out, and not come again into his presence without him. Tho' the duke was not over-well pleased that the dauphin had fled for refuge into his dominions, he yet considered him as a Depositum, for which he was accountable to France, and again sent Montigni, John de Cluny, and the Toison d'or, to attempt once more a reconciliation in the royal family.

The king received these embassadors in Dauphiné, in the presence of the king of Sicily, the dukes of Calabria and Bourbon, the counts of Maine, Foix, la Marche, Dunois, and the principal officers.

John de Cluny represented, that the duke of Burgundy besought his majesty, that he would be pleased  
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of Bohemia in opposition to Ladislaus, judged that he could not secure his usurpation but by the death of his sovereign. Pogiebrac immediately caused himself to be crowned king of Bohemia, and was acknowledged by the Moravians. To confirm his power, he attempted to set a king over Hungary.

The brave Hunniad Corvin, surnamed the Terror of the Turks, had been the avenger of Christendom, and the protector of Hungary, whereof Ladislaus was barely the king. This great Soldier died before Ladislaus, leaving behind him two children, whom the king caused to be taken into custody, upon a suspicion of conspiring against his government. The eldest he put to death for having slain the count de Tilly, an enemy to the Corvin family; and the younger Matthias, he continued in prison under the charge of Pogiebrac. Upon the death of Ladislaus, Pogiebrac set him at liberty, caused him to be chosen king of Hungary, and gave him his daughter in marriage.

The Emperor Frederick Albert, and Sigismond of Austria, had claims to these kingdoms, which were of little service to them, by reason of the division prevailing between them. Charles VII. desiring to be their mediator, sent Feneffrange and the commander of Chandénier, to attempt a reconciliation. Their endeavours proved fruitless, and served only to shew that the house of Austria was then but a phantom of power, which was rather supported by a great name than the real strength of those who bore it. Chandénier wrote his sentiments of it to the dauphin. The emperor, says he, is a weak irresolute man, incapable either of thinking or acting, close without prudence, and odious through his avarice. The princes of his house despise him, though otherwise not more deserving than himself; all Germany concurs in this judgment, and *if GOD would* restore peace to the august family of  
France,

France, it would soon become mistress of the empire, which stands in need of a power sufficient to defend religion, and withstand the progress of the Ottomans. Unfortunately, we were not in a condition to make our advantage of these circumstances; disunion wrought in France, what weakness effected in Germany.

Tho' the dauphin had laid aside all hopes of reconciliation with his father, he notwithstanding thought it his duty to appear concerned at his disgrace, and to omit no opportunity of regaining his favour. The duke of Burgundy being summoned as the first peer of the kingdom, and dean of the college, to attend at the trial of the duke of Alençon, sent ambassadors to intercede in his behalf, and to excuse his own attendance, alledging, that by the treaty of Arras, he was left to his own liberty, either to attend, or not, in the assembly of the peers. The dauphin ordered the same ambassadors to solicit the chancellor, and the Counts of Maine, Eu, and la Marche, to speak in his favour. Charles let his son know, that when he had any thing to ask, he would do well to apply directly to himself; and the dauphin immediately wrote him a letter of thanks for it.

The duke of Alençon was accused of having entered into a treaty with the English, to assist them in the invasion of France. The dauphin, and the bastard of Armagnac, were suspected of being accomplices in this conspiracy; the first question put to the duke upon his examination seemed to favour these suspicions; but after the strictest enquiry, the parliament declared in the sentence they pronounced against the duke, that the dauphin, and the bastard of Armagnac, were entirely innocent.

The duke of Alençon had nothing to recommend him but his character of prince of the blood, which he looked upon as a title of impunity. He was of

a mean and restless disposition; alike unacquainted with the duties and advantages of his station. He never apprehended that it was the business of princes to adhere to the king, and that they could not be seen decently any where else but at court. He ran at the first rumour of a revolt, and endeavoured to form a party, which might receive some benefit from the credit of his name, though there was not the least advantage to be expected from it to himself. The king changed the sentence of death, which was pronounced against him, into a perpetual imprisonment, and committed him to close custody at Loche.

1459. In the mean time there arose every day new grounds of dispute between the king and the duke of Burgundy. The parliament having made several decrees against John Dubois, bailiff of Cassel, to which he refused to submit, the king sent William Bouchet, a counsellor of parliament, to complain of him to the duke of Burgundy. The duke made answer, that the affair did not concern him, that the territory of Cassel belonged to the dukes, and that he would lay it before his council. Bouchet soon perceived that he had but little satisfaction to expect. As to his complaint, he was told, that the duke had no reason to be pleased either with the king or the parliament, who abused their authority in retaining all the causes which belonged to Flanders. Bouchet boldly answered, that the most advantageous circumstance, which could happen to the Flemish, was to have their causes brought before the parliament, which would do them justice, whereas in Flanders all matters were decided by caprice or violence. The whole, however, that he could obtain, was, that the bailiff of Cassel should no longer remain upon such part of the duke's territories, as were held of the king.

On the other hand the duke of Burgundy complained



plained of several infractions of the treaty of Arras, was told, that he had very little reason to talk of a treaty, which himself was breaking every day; that besides there were several articles of it set aside by the treaty made at Paris, when the princess Catherine was married to the count of Charolois; and farther, that the duke had lately agreed to a truce with the English, the old enemies of the kingdom. Upon this answer the duke ordered his chancellor Nicholas Rollin to lay before him the treaty of Arras, the marriage contract of the count of Charolois, and in general all the pieces thereto relating, with reflections upon these different memoirs, that he might put the whole into the hands of the ambassadors he was sending to the council of Mantua, which pope Pius II. had called together, with a view of engaging the princes of Christendom in a crusade, it being the duke of Burgundy's desire that the council should be arbitrator of the differences he had with the king.

During these disputes the dauphiness was delivered of a prince. The dauphin *July 27.* immediately dispatched couriers to give notice of it to the king, to his brother the duke of Berry, to the superior courts, and to several of the prelates. All that received these letters sent them to the king, to know his intentions. His majesty thereupon ordered a publick thanksgiving, and wrote a letter of congratulation *Aug. 7.* to the dauphin.

All the world seemed pleased with this event; but no body expressed a greater satisfaction at it than the duke of Burgundy. He gave a thousand crowns to the messenger who brought him the news, and ordered that publick rejoicing should be made for it throughout all his dominions. The child was named Joachim, the duke *Aug. 6.* standing godfather, and the lady

de Ravestein, the wife of Adolphus de Cleves, the duke's nephew, godmother.

After the ceremony of baptism was over, the dauphin returned his thanks to the duke of Burgundy, and having his head uncovered whilst he spoke, the duke bent one knee to the ground, nor would he be prevailed on to rise, till the dauphin was covered. I judged it not amiss to mention this circumstance, to shew with what respect the heir of the crown was treated by sovereign princes, even of the blood royal of France.

These rejoicings were soon succeeded by mourning, for the young prince lived but four months. The dauphin was so grievously afflicted at his death, that he made a vow never to converse with any other woman but his wife. Comines says, that he kept it; if so, we must place the birth of the four natural daughters of Lewis XI. before this period. The eldest named Cuiette, whom he did not own, was married without his permission to his secretary Charles de Sillons. Isabel was married to Lewis de S. Priest. Mary married Aimar de Poitiers, lord of S. Vallier. Lewis XI. had these three daughters by Margaret de Sassenage, the widow of Ambler de Beaumont. Jane the youngest of the four was owned and legitimated on the 25th of February 1466. By the act of legitimation, it appears, that her mother was a widow named Phelise Renard. Jane was married to Lewis, the bastard of Bourbon, to whom Lewis XI. gave the territory of Rouffillon in Dauphiné. He was afterwards made admiral of France.

The resentment which Charles VII. privately kept up towards the duke of Burgundy, and which seemed suppressed, soon shewed itself openly again. Charles, who had claimed a second time the duchy of Luxembourg in the name of Ladislaus king of Hungary, now pretended to take possession of it in  
his

his own right. The bishops of Côtance and Estrenay were sent as ambassadors to notify to the duke of Burgundy, that his majesty had treated with William duke of Saxe, for the claim he had to Luxembourg by Elizabeth the sister and heir of Ladislaus. At the same time they pressed the dauphin to return to the king his father, and intimated, that his majesty was thoroughly convinced that the dauphin's rebellion was supported by the duke.

The duke, who had judged it proper to have his son with all the lords of his court and the prelates present at this audience, answered, that he had received the dauphin, and had paid him all the honours that were due to him; but so far was he from seducing, or retaining him, that his highness was at his liberty to return into France; that if he pleased, he should be conducted back by the count de Charolois, and with such good attendance, as should leave him nothing to fear. As to the duchy of Luxembourg, he said, he had bought it and paid for it, and was ready to produce his evidences. The bishop of Arras then speaking in the person of the dauphin, recapitulated the several complaints which his highness had frequently made against the ministers, and insisted upon the abuse they had made of their authority.

In the mean time Thierry de Lenoncour, bailiff of Vitri, and John de Veroli his lieutenant, went into Germany 1460. to search for instruments concerning Luxembourg. The duke of Saxe put into their hands all the necessary éclaircissements, assured them that he would maintain the guaranty stipulated by the contract of sale, and particularly advised the king not to compromise the affair, as he was sure of success by the ordinary methods of justice.

The duke of Burgundy no longer doubting that his majesty was courting the alliance of the princes of the empire with design to declare war against him,

sent ambassadors to him to gain full information, without concealing any one particular of his complaints. He repeated all that had passed since the signing the treaty of Arras, and reproached the king with his disposition to break the peace, with having sought the alliance of the inhabitants of Liege and Berne, and the princes of Germany, with the league he had entered into with the late king of Hungary; that the duchy of Luxembourg was only the pretence of the rupture, but that the real cause of it was the sanctuary he had given to the dauphin, though this last circumstance rather merited his acknowledgments.

Notwithstanding this mutual warmth and dissatisfaction on both sides, there was yet no open rupture, the king's weakness, which led him constantly to comply with the advices given him by his ministers, not allowing him to come to any determination. This prince, who so well deserved to taste the peace it was his inclination all the world should enjoy, passed his life in a state of the most cruel irresolution.

The dauphin resided constantly at \* Genep, where he led an inactive life at a time when he might have been serviceable to the state. He lived there with some few familiar friends, who formed his court, and divided his time between hunting, walking, and reading, without intermeddling at all with business, that he might give no cause of suspicion to the duke of Burgundy.

In the mean time his alliance was courted by foreigners. The Catalonians and the prince of Navarre sent deputies to him. Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, entered into a treaty of alliance with him, by which he promised to assist the dauphin with all his

\* During his highness's retirement at Genep, the hundred new novels were drawn up for his amusement.

his forces, who engaged on the other hand to furnish the duke of Milan with four thousand horse, and two thousand archers, upon three months notice. 'Tis not easy to discern how his highness could possibly make good this engagement, as he then subsisted purely upon the benevolence of the duke of Burgundy.

The inhabitants of Dauphiné, who had complained of the administration of Lewis, very soon lamented the loss of him. The king laid less taxes upon them; but then whatever was drawn out of the province returned thither no more; whereas the dauphin not only expended amongst them the sums collected from them, but withal the rest of his income. They found by experience, that the misery of a state proceeds less from the weight of the taxes laid upon them, than from a want of circulation.

In the mean time the dauphin, who was very desirous of a reconciliation with his father, sent Howard his chief Valet de Chambre to make an other attempt. The answer which the king gave him in writing, shews that he was extremely afflicted with his son's refusal to come to him; he complained bitterly of it in his letter, and protested that he would never consent to the dauphin's request of residing out of the kingdom. He reproaches him with declining to share in the dangers and glory of expelling the English out of the kingdom. He presses his return, promises all possible security, and tells him he had several things of importance to communicate, which he could not deliver to any but himself. It appears plainly, by the tenderness and concern expressed in this answer, that his majesty would have received him graciously, and that all the artifices of the ministers would have been over-balanced by his paternal affection. The dauphin cannot here be easily justified

fied from the charge of cruelty ; his distrust was carried far beyond the bounds of duty, which he owed to his father. He seems even not to have thought himself unblameable in this Respect ; for he sent back Howard, and instead of answering his father's letters, which indeed did not admit of any other reply than obedience, he barely desired him to send him some women to serve the dauphiness, who was ready to lie in. She was soon after delivered of a daughter, the famous Anne de Beaujeu, whom Lewis XI. upon his death bed declared regent of the kingdom at three and twenty years of age.

*April.*

There was, at this time, a negotiation of importance between the king and the count of Charolois. This prince, who hated the Croys, was resolved to destroy them ; but, fearing the resentment of his father, he sent the count of S. Pol, to desire the king's protection, with leave to fight, under his colours, at the head of the troops he designed for England, in defence of the house of Lancaster against the house of York, who were then the two contending parties in that kingdom.

The king laid the count's proposals before the council ; and, after proper deliberation, sent back word, that he would receive him with pleasure, but that he was not yet determined to send any troops into England. The king would have been well pleased, that the count of Charolois, by a like fault with the dauphin's, should have furnished him with an opportunity of mortifying the duke of Burgundy in the same way that had raised his resentment.

The count de Charolois, not finding the king's answer sufficiently clear, desired that he would explain himself more distinctly ; but as it was not judged proper to give an answer in writing, they sent Genlis. Several messages had passed upon this

this subject, when the king began to suspect some agreement in this affair between the duke of Burgundy and the count of Charolois; and hearing that the count of Charolois intended to offer violence to the Croys, he resolved to break off the negotiation. His majesty lying then on a sick bed, caused this answer to be written in his presence; *For two such Kingdoms as mine, I would not consent to a villainous action.*

The king's disease giving cause to apprehend a bad event, the people about him began to think every one of their own interest. 'Tis said, that the court was divided into two parties, one of which, with the count du Maine at their head, was for the dauphin, and that Dammartin was the chief of the opposite faction. It is much more natural to think, that they all looked towards the dauphin; and that Dammartin himself was rather disposed to find out proper means of obtaining the favour of a prince, who was shortly to be his master, than to engage in an intrigue that was as foolish as unprofitable. 'Tis true, there was a ridiculous report spread abroad among the people, and contrary to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom, that the king was minded to disinherit the dauphin, and settle the crown upon his youngest son Charles; and this might possibly give rise to the notion of two opposite factions. But, as to the fact, and the consequences drawn from it, whoever shall read the Memoire, which the count de Foix, who was an associate with the count du Maine, drew up to justify himself from the accusation of having opposed the dauphin, will plainly see, that it is without foundation. If any person had been capable of such a design, the count de Foix would not have failed to have accused him of it, in his own vindication.

He says, that in 1460, the king of Castille had sent

sent an embassy to Charles VII. with proposals of a marriage between Isabella his sister, and Charles the king's youngest son, and that he demanded Guyenne. To which the king made answer, *That Lewis being the eldest son, this affair could not be decided without him, that himself could do nothing in it, that he hoped his son would return to him; but, that if he did not, it was his part to consider of what was to be done in it.*

The count de Foix, proceeds to give an account of what passed during the king's sickness; he says, that the day they talked of sending an herald to give notice to the dauphin of the king's condition, every person present in the council swore to sacrifice all towards reconciling the dauphin with the king, in case his majesty recovered; *that then Mons. du Maine, declared this to be his resolution, with a solemn promise to God that he would perform it: the like declaration was then made by me, by Mons. de Dunois, and by all the rest.* In short, the letter which was written to the dauphin in consequence of this deliberation, was signed by the count du Maine, the count de Foix, the chancellor Juvenal des Ursins, the bishop of Coutance, marshal de Loheac, and the count of Dammartin. 'Tis true, that when the dauphin first cast his eyes upon the signatures of the count du Maine and Dammartin, he imagined that his uncle had given him up; but he was not well informed himself of what passed at court. His enemies told the king that he designed to poison him. This was the last fatal stroke to his unhappy father. Weakened with his diseases, and wasted with care, he had death always present before his eyes; this image made such an impression upon his mind, that, for several days, he would neither eat nor drink. Those in whom he placed the greatest confidence, besought him to take some little sustenance. At last he consented to yield to their entreaties, but the intestines being



being closed through too long an abstinence, the food he took down could not pass. He died at Meun-Sur-Yevre, on the 22d of July 1461, in the 60th Year of his age, and the 30th of his reign. Thus ended Charles VII. after a glorious reign, lamented by his subjects, and respected by his enemies.

*The End of the* FIRST BOOK.

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T H E

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
L E W I S XI.

B O O K II.

1461. **L**EWIS is now about to appear upon a new theatre, and lay himself open before our eyes. Constraint belongs to persons of an inferior station; princes do not think themselves obliged to use it. They seek to conceal their designs, but their natural dispositions they leave exposed.

As soon as Lewis was informed of his father's death, he sent notice of it to the duke of Burgundy, and gave him a meeting at Avesnes. He put on mourning but for one morning, and, at night was clothed in \* red. The duke of Burgundy, apprehending

\* I mention this trifling circumstance only to shew, that some of our historians have unjustly assigned it as a proof of Lewis the XIth's ill nature. Whatever secret joy he felt upon the death of his father, he was of too artful a disposition to commit such an indecency, if this had been one. These authors did not consider that Charles VII. did the same thing, and that it was a customary practice with all our kings. The author of a MS. journal says expressly, *As soon as the king is dead, the son who is next of kin, puts on a purple habit.* In all probability, our kings wore real mourning only during  
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hending left the enemies of Lewis should oppose his return into France, assembled his nobility; but Lewis, giving way to suspicion rather than gratitude, would not suffer so great a number of foreigners to pass into France, and prevailed upon the duke to let him be guarded only by the chief of his own household troops. They found no obstacle; the chancellor Juvenal des Ursins, and most of the magistracy waited upon him at Avesnes; followed by an infinite number of people, who flocked from all quarters to attend upon the king, and conducted him to Rheims, where he was crowned.

The ecclesiastical peers were all present, *Aug. 15.* except the bishop of Noyon, whose office was supplied by the bishop of Paris. The lay peers were the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon for the duke of Guyenne, and the count of Angoulesme for the duke of Normandy. The counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Toulouse, were represented by the counts of Nevers, Eu, and Vendome. Anthony de Croy performed the office of grand-master, the count of Comminges the office of constable, and Joachim Rouault that of grand-ecuyer.

As much pleased as the people were with festivals of this nature, yet nothing affected them more than the behaviour of the duke of Burgundy. In the midst of the ceremony of consecration, this prince, venerable by his age, and still more deserving of respect by his virtue than his station, threw himself at the king's feet, and besought him to pardon all those that had offended him. He promised him that he would, except

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seven,

the ceremony of their paying the last offices of duty to their predecessor, and that presently after, cloathing themselves in purple, or a resembling colour, they insensibly fell into the wearing of violet-coloured cloaths, which is a kind of purple, for their mourning.

seven, whom he did not name. In all probability the count of Dammartin, Brézé, Andrew de Laval lord of Loheac, Lewis de Laval lord of Chatillon, and William Juvenal des Ursins, chancellor of France, were herein included; the other two might easily be confounded in the number of those whom Lewis turned out of their places. He also distinguished the beginning of his reign with marks of his favour. He appointed Anthony de Croy to be grand master of his household; the bastard of Armagnac, and Joachim Rouault, were made \* mareschals of France, and Montauban Admiral. Mauleon de Soule, who had already the government of Dauphiné, was farther made governor of Guyenne, and du Lau seneschal. John de Estouteville had the place of Brézé, captain of Rouen. Beaufremont, Rolin, and the other officers of the duke of Burgundy, had equally a share in the king's favours, as the French themselves.

The duke, after having done homage to the king for the lands he held of the crown, accompanied him to Paris. His majesty went first to S. Denys, where he had a service said for his father. The bishop of Terni, the pope's nuncio, who was with him, had the boldness to perform I know not what ceremony of absolution for the late king, pretending that he had incurred excommunication by the  
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\* The mareschals of France were originally the chief ecuyers of the king under the constable; but their dignity was military before his, because they became lieutenants to the seneschal of France, who was at the head of the Troops, before the constable succeeded to the place and functions of the seneschal. The dignity of mareschal of France, was not anciently for life, as it is at present. At first there were but two; under Charles VII. there were four. In the following reigns, we find but three at a time at most, till Francis I. who made five; since that time there has been no fixed number.

the establishment of the pragmatick sanction. It does not appear, that any notice was ever after taken of this action. Lewis apprehended he had business enough upon his hands without troubling himself about a frivolous ceremony. Besides, he was very little concerned for the memory of his father; and though the nuncio's proceeding was injurious to the royal dignity, it agreed well enough with the scheme which Lewis had already formed, and soon after executed.

His majesty made his entry into Paris on the 31<sup>st</sup> of August. He was magnificently attended by all the great men of the kingdom, and the procession was closed by a train of more than 1200 gentlemen, partly French and partly subjects of the duke of Burgundy. The Parisians expressed their joy upon this occasion, by triumphant arches, and mysterious representations, according to the taste of those times.

Whilst the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Charolois, to share the publick joy, were daily giving entertainments, the king was entirely employed in business. He began with displacing the chancellor Juvenal des Ursins, whose office he gave to Peter de Morvilliers. Helias de Tournelles was made premier-president in the room of Yves de Sepeaux, and John de S. Romain was procureur-general in the place of John Dauvet, who was appointed premier-president of the parliament of Toulouse; and, at the same time, Adam de Corbie of the parliament of Grenoble. There were also several other changes in the parliament. The king further turned out most of his father's officers, and gave their places to such as had adhered to him in Dauphiné and Flanders.

There were few posts of importance, which did not change their masters. And yet, as several of the new possessors had no other merit than their adherence to Lewis in his disgrace, and many were displaced,

displaced, who had no other fault than their attachment to the late king, and, of course, their fidelity, these changes did not all tend to the service of the state. The duke of Burgundy, who began to perceive that it was to no purpose to give his majesty advice, which he received with more respect than inclination to follow, spoke his sentiments of it to the duke of Bourbon, and let him know, that such sudden revolutions would soon be attended with troubles in the state. Brézé, the grand-seneschal of Normandy, was declared an out-law, and obliged to abscond. His places were taken from him; but his son, within a few months after marrying Charlotte, the king's natural sister, his estate was given back to him, and himself restored to the same degree of familiarity, which he had formerly enjoyed with his Majesty.

The count of Dammartin's disgrace was much more severe, and of longer duration. He absconded as soon as the king came home, and was a long time skulking and hiding; but appearing at last upon his trial, the parliament sentenced him on the 2d of August, 1463, to a perpetual banishment. The sentence expresses, *That the court, before it gave judgment, received his majesty's Orders, and that he preferring mercy to justice, gave the criminal his life.* Dammartin, instead of being banished, was sent to the Bastile, from whence he made his escape in the beginning of the war for the publick good. His estate was confiscated, and one part of it, which came to him by the confiscation of the substance of James Coeur, was given back to Geoffrey Coeur his son. His lands at Rochefort and Caurienne, were given to Montespédon, the king's first valet de chambre; but the greatest part of his effects were granted to Charles de Melun. The countesse of Dammartin applying to him for sanctuary, he most *inhumanly* turned her out of doots; and, had it

not been for a labourer of S. Fargeau, who provided her with a place of retirement, she must have perished with hunger. Some years after, Dammartin made his peace, was taken into the highest degree of favour, and had a share in all the considerable events, which fell out in the reign of Lewis XI. Those men are truly illustrious, whose actions are found to be joined with the history of their country. The services which the Chabannes did the state, procured them the honour of being allied to the royal family, by the marriage of Gilbert de Chabannes with Catherine of Bourbon, the daughter of the count de Vendome, a prince of the blood.\*

Lewis seems to have affected a conduct directly opposite to the management of his father. He set the duke of Alençon at liberty, and pardoned the count de Armagnac, who had been condemned in the preceding reign, both for crimes against the state, and also an incestuous conversation with his sister, whom he had even publicly married, after having deceived her with a forged dispensation.

The king omitted no opportunity of giving the duke of Burgundy publick marks of his acknowledgment. He openly declared, that he owed his life to him, and he conferred the government of Normandy upon the count of Charolois, with a salary of six and thirty thousand livres. These three princes, at this time, seemed to be more united by affection, than views of interest; but this union did not last long.

After Lewis had taken leave of the duke of Burgundy, he went to Amboise, to pay a visit to the queen, his mother. He learnt by the way that the city of Rheims had rose up in arms, upon the account of some new taxes; and he thought it his duty in the beginning of his reign, to give an example of severity, that might strike terror into the rebels.

\* In 1484, in the reign of Charles VIII.

rebels, Mareſchal Rouault and John Bureau had orders to march towards Rheims, with a body of troops. The inhabitants, in a fright, immediately ſent deputies to repreſent, that they could not imagine the king had ordered theſe taxes to be levied after the ſolemn declaration he had given them at his coronation, that no new taxes ſhould be raiſed. The king, who intended to accuſtom his ſubjects to a blind obedience, and not to an interpretation of his will, ordered that an example ſhould be made of them. Mareſchal Rouault hanged and quartered the head of the rebellion, and beheaded ſix of the moſt ſeditious; ſeveral were baniſhed, and the reſt were pardoned by his majeſty, at the ſolicitation of the duke of Burgundy.

The like examples were made at Angers, Alençon, and Aurillac, where there had been ſome inſurrections among the people.

Lewis's firſt care was to ſecure his authority in the kingdom. The continual wars wherein Charles VII. was engaged, for the recovery of France, had prodigiouſly augmented the power of the lords, who expected to ſhare in his authority, as they had ſhared in his miſfortunes. The princes of the blood had a great part of the kingdom aſſigned them in their appennages, and there they affected to act the ſovereign; and their example was imitated by the moſt powerful of the lords, ſuch as the duke of Nemours, the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Dunois, the lord of Albret, the Laval, Dammartin, Brézé, and abundance of others, who had leſs power, and equal ambition.

Lewis, whiſt he was only dauphin, had ſometimes ſpoke of theſe diſorders to John Joffredy, biſhop of Arras, and of the deſign he had to put a ſtop to them whenever he came to the crown; and on this diſpoſition it was, that Joffredy formed the *plan of the abolition of the pragmatick ſanction,*  
whereof.



whereof we are going to treat, after we have given the character of this prelate. Joffredy was a native of Luxeul, a town in Franche-comté, and the son of a tradesman ; born without fortune and friends, but with an artful and insinuating genius, he conceived a design of rising to the highest dignities, without any other pretensions to them, than the ambition of striving for them. That he might have the fewest obstacles to his views, he entered into orders, the too common resource of an ambitious man: of low birth, and took a religious habit in the abbey of Luxeul, of the order of Cluny. After passing through the dignities of his order, he went into the service of the dūke of Burgundy, whose favour he gained. This prince procured him the bishoprick of Arras, and gave him the first place in his council. Joffredy would not have judged himself worthy of his fortune, if he had known how to set bounds to it ; he thought he had obtained enough to pretend to more, and hiding his own ambition under the cloak of his master's interest, he persuaded the duke, that it was for his honour to procure the cardinal's cap for one of his subjects, that might be the legate of the holy see within his dominions. The duke, persuaded by his favourite's solicitations, wrote to Rome in his behalf. Joffredy also prevailed upon the dauphin, who was then refuged in the court of Burgundy, to grant him his recommendation. Lewis, who sought no more than to gain the good will of those he judged he had need of, and who saw that Joffredy's favour with the duke might possibly be of use to himself, sent to Rome to solicit the cap ; and Charles VII. dying during this negotiation, the recommendation of the dauphin became that of the king of France. Pope Pius II. hereupon writes word to Joffredy, that without employing so many solicitations, he might merit the cap, by  
prevailing

prevailing on Lewis XI. to abolish the pragmatick sanction.

This famous ordinance had been made upon occasion of the schism, which then subsisted between the council of Basil and pope Eugenius IV. The council had been called by Martin V. Eugenius his successor, who knew that a council might be useful to the church, but was always opposite to the authority of the popes, sought to elude it by delays, and would have translated it to Bologna, and afterwards to Ferrara. The fathers of the council, instead of acquiescing in the bull of Eugenius, summoned him to appear before them, and threatened to depose him if he did not obey. The pope enraged at these menaces, excommunicated the council, who, in return, deposed Eugenius, and set up in his stead Amedeus VIII. duke of Savoy, by the name of Felix V.

Charles VII. after some fruitless endeavours to reconcile the council and the pope, grew apprehensive lest the schism should spread itself in France. In 1438, he called an assembly at Bourges, in which the dauphin, the princes of the blood, the grandees and prelates of the kingdom were all present. Thither the council sent embassadors, who laid before the assembly the canons which had lately been made at Basil. The king caused them to be carefully examined, and after advice had of all the clergy and laity, who declared them to be proper decisions for the restoration of good discipline in the church, he made an ordinance of these decrees by the name of the pragmatick sanction, and caused it to be published and registered in parliament, that it might be observed throughout the kingdom.

The first article of this sanction contains two canons, by which the council declares, that every general council represents the church universal, and has

has a spiritual authority, to which even the authority of the pope is subject.

By another decree it is ordained, that a general council shall be held every ten years; that the pope may, in case of necessity, abridge this term, but not prolong it; and that at the conclusion of every council the pope or the council shall appoint the place where the next council shall be held.

The second article contains the decree of the council concerning elections; by this decree the nomination to bishopricks and other benefices is taken away from the popes, who had usurped it. It is ordained, that every church shall elect its own bishop, every monastery its own abbot or prior, and so of the rest. The ordinance adds, that the king and princes might recommend, by entreaties free from all force, such persons as were well-affected to the state.

The third article abolishes the abuse of *reservations* and *graces expectative*. The popes, to prevent elections, nominated to benefices, before they were vacant; and these nominations were termed *graces expectative*. If the pope had not taken this precaution before the death of the possessor, he declared that he had for a long time reserved the nomination to this benefice. This abuse, which was called a *reservation*, deprived those of the right of election or nomination, to whom it lawfully belonged.

The fifth article ordains, that causes cannot be carried to Rome, but by appeal, after having passed through the inferior courts, in a due degree of subordination.

The ninth article contains a canon of the council, which abolishes the annates that were paid at Rome for provisions to benefices, and a supposed Right of confirmation of elections or collations.

The remaining articles contain a great number of regulations,

regulations, which have no other tendency than to restore and maintain ecclesiastical discipline.

Eugenius IV. and his successors, looked upon the pragmatick sanction as a very great encroachment upon their Authority. *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini* being advanced to the popedom by the name of Pius II. resolved absolutely to abolish it.

Pius II. had no other motive than personal interest in all his actions, not over scrupulous in the choice of means, the surest appeared to him the most just; success was his rule of equity. Indifferent about opinions, he rather chose a party, than adopted a sentiment, and embraced truth when it could be useful to him. Thus when he was secretary to the council of Basil, he wrote in defence of its authority. The court of Rome spared no pains to disarm so formidable an adversary. It was scarce to be expected, that he should become a defender of her pretensions, at least not such a one as could draw over others to favour them. The language he had hitherto used would render whatever he should say afterwards suspected. Retractions frequently reflect dishonour, and are seldom useful, and for the most part they serve only to give a proof of the weakness or interest of the person who retracts. The court of Rome fought only to free herself from the most zealous of her adversaries, and succeeded in it by the favours she heaped upon him. *Æneas Sylvius* then wrote against the council, and expressed so much zeal for the interest of the court of Rome, that he was raised to the pontificate.

Pius II. was sober and industrious, good qualities, which are frequently joined with ambition. He spoke with warmth, and was a man of learning; and yet the verses and romances he has left behind him have not done honour enough to his wit to excuse the injury they did to his profession. His character was more commendable as a prince, than as a pontiff;

pontiff; and he considered himself less as the vicar of Jesus Christ, than as the successor of the Cæsars.

The first project he formed was to abolish the pragmatick sanction, which was a continual testimony of the inconsistency of his conduct. Joffredy, bishop of Arras, seemed to him a very proper person to serve his designs, and the bishop finding that the cardinal's cap would be the recompence of his services, omitted nothing to give the pope satisfaction. The bishop of Arras was nominated legate to Lewis XI. He strove to gain his confidence, and reminded him of the complaints he had heard him make concerning the authority, which the great men of the kingdom had usurped in the preceding reigns; he represented to him, that the only means of lessening their power was to abolish the pragmatick sanction, as the credit they had in elections procured them a very great number of creatures, who would solely depend upon his majesty, when they had reason to expect success entirely from his recommendation to the pope, who could never refuse to comply with any of his demands.

These discourses of the bishop of Arras made a strong impression upon the king, who besides was but too much disposed to overturn whatever his father had established. However, as he could not avoid seeing, that the pope was far more interested than himself in the abolition of the pragmatick sanction, he was willing to lay hold of this circumstance to engage him to favour the pretensions of the duke of Calabria to the kingdom of Naples, in opposition to Ferdinand, whose cause the pope had openly espoused.

To understand well the different interest which Lewis XI. and the pope took in this quarrel, it is necessary to recollect, that Alphonsus of Arragon had usurped the kingdom of Naples from Reignier of Anjou.

Anjou. After the death of Alphonfus, his natural fon Ferdinand demanded the investiture of it from pope Calixtus III. which his holiness refused, either with the view of restoring it to the house of Anjou, or of conferring it upon Peter Lewis Borgia his nephew, who was then prefect of Rome. He only declared by a bull, that the kingdom of Naples, which the popes had disposed of as sovereign lords, was devolved to the church by the death of Alphonfus. Calixtus III. dying within six weeks after Alphonfus, Pius II. gave the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand, whose daughter was married to Anthony Piccolomini, this pope's nephew. The house of Anjou, however, had a powerful party in Naples. John duke of Calabria, the son of King Reigner, and cousin-german to Lewis XI. judging the circumstance favourable, set out from Genoa, where he had commanded for three years on the part of France, advanced towards Naples, and gained the battle of Sarno. Ferdinand was reduced to the last extremity, and the duke of Calabria was upon the point of being master of Naples, when the pope implored the assistance of Scanderbeg, king of Albania, in favour of Ferdinand.

The bare name of Scanderbeg was sufficient to raise a party. John Castriot, his father, prince of Epirus, which is a portion of Albania, was one of the Despots which had submitted to the Ottoman yoke. He had been obliged to deliver up his four sons as hostages to Amurath II. George the youngest had the good fortune to please the sultan, both by his graceful person and his ingenuity. Amurath caused him to be circumcised, brought him up in the Mahometan religion, and gave him the name of Scanderbeg. *Beg* signifies *lord*, and *Scander* *Alexander*.

He was scarce arrived at the age of manhood, before Amurath carried him along with him in his expedition; and immediately he engaged all tongues  
to

to speak in praise of his dexterity, his prodigious strength, and his intrepidity. A Tartar of a gigantic size, and noted for his brutish valour, coming to Andrinople, Scanderbeg desired leave to fight with him, and killed him in the sultan's presence.

Soon after he met at Burse two Persians, who boasted themselves to be invincible, and sent him a challenge. This challenge was accepted by Scanderbeg. It was agreed to fight them separately, but having wounded the first that presented himself, the other contrary to the laws of the combat, rushed in to the assistance of his companion. The intrepid Albanian, inflamed with rage and indignation at their treachery, attacked them with so much force and skill, that he ran the one of them through with his sword, and cleft asunder the head of the other quite down to his teeth, and thus laid them both dead at his feet.

Amurath, charmed with the valour of Scanderbeg, committed the most important of his enterprises to his care, and his choice was constantly confirmed by victory. It was observed, however, that Scanderbeg, in profusely shedding the blood of his enemies, spared that of the christians. Tho' he professed Mahometism, the religion of his fathers was still unaltered in his heart, and as soon as circumstances gave him leave, he declared himself a christian. It was not long before these fell out by the death of John Castriot, at a time when Scanderbeg was serving Amurath under the bashaw of Romania against Hunniade, the general of the Hungarians.

The sultan gave orders to the bashaw of Macedonia to make himself master of Croye, the capital of Albania, under a pretext of keeping that kingdom as a deposit to be given back in due time to one of the sons of John Castriot; but at the same time he caused the three hostages that were at Andrinople  
to

to be poisoned. Scanderbeg would have met with the same fate, if he had not been in the army, where the sultan hoped his valour would cause him to fall; but the fortune of the field decided otherwise. The bashaw of Romania was beaten, and taken prisoner by Hunniade. Scanderbeg felt a secret joy at this defeat, and escaped with a part of the troops which were devoted to him. He obliged the chancellor of the bashaw to write a letter to the commander of Croje, wherein he required him, in the sultan's name, to give up the place into the hands of Scanderbeg. This prince, who was then nine and twenty years of age, thus returned into the capital of his dominions, and recovered in a few days all that the Turks had usurped from him.

Amurath, in a violent rage, sent several formidable armies against Scanderbeg, which were all defeated. The bashaws Ali and Mustapha, Ferresbeg, and all the Turkish generals, who had so often signalized themselves by their victories, were forced to yield to an handful of men, commanded by a prince, whose dominions were but a feeble province of the Ottoman empire.

Amurath, as much enraged against his generals, as against his enemy, marched in person to lay siege to Croje. The siege was bloody, the attacks brisk, and the defence vigorous. The sultan, at the same time as he attacked the place with open force, fought by a thousand secret practices to corrupt the principal officers of the garison; but they were all as faithful as they were brave. Whilst they were driving back the besiegers, Scanderbeg forced them in their intrenchments, and obliged them to give over their attacks to provide for their own safety; no danger was too much for his courage, and yet though he had killed with his own hand above two thousand of the Turks, he never so much presumed upon his valour as to neglect the measures dictated  
by



by prudence. Amurath, unable either to conquer or seduce his enemies, mad with despair to see the Ottoman power, the torrent which made all Asia tremble, fail in Epirus, dièd with vexation before Croye. Mahomet II. the heir of his father's empire and rage, was not more successful than himself against Scanderbeg; nor could he gain any advantage in Epirus, at a time when he triumphed every where else. Twice he sat down before Croye, but was obliged to raise the siege, and consent to make peace. It was on this occasion that having heard that Scanderbeg had cut a man in two with one broke of a sabre, he desired a sight of the instrument. The sultan sending back word, that he did not see that this sabre was better than another, the Albanian made answer, that he had not sent him his arms. If the christians had at this time been more sensible of glory, had they been wise enough to lay aside their private quarrels, had they known their real interests, and united against the common enemy, the Ottoman throne might have been overturned, and Europe and Asia might have been freed from bondage; but the Venetians, and Alphonfus king of Arragon, were the only persons who gave Scanderbeg any assistance. It was in return for the kindness he had received from Alphonfus, that he came to the help of Ferdinand at the head of eight hundred horsemen. This small body, which had been used to conquer, gave a turn to the face of affairs. The party of Ferdinand became victorious, and the duke of Calabria, after a defeat near Troia in la Pouille, was constrained to return into Provence; and so far was France from gaining any advantage by the succours which had been granted to the duke of Calabria, that she farther lost Genoa. The duke having drawn from thence the best part of the troops, which kept the city within the bounds of duty, the Genoese took up arms against

against the French that were left, and massacred almost every one of them. Charles VII. dying in the mean while, it was not doubted but that Lewis XI. would turn his arms against the Genoese, but he had other designs upon Italy. As he had resolved to marry his daughter the princess Anne to the marquis du Pont, the son of John duke of Calabria, he intended to procure for the duke the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and that this crown should be the price of the abolition of the pragmatik sanction. He charged the bishop of Arras to conclude nothing with the pope, but upon this sole condition. We see that in an affair, which so greatly concerned both the church and state, each party consulted only their own private interest. The pope intended to increase his power; the king sought to restore the house of Anjou; and Joffredy's ambition aimed only at the cardinal's cap.

Lewis was persuaded, that the pope, to obtain the abolition of the pragmatik sanction, would grant the investiture of the kingdom of Naples to the duke of Calabria; Pius II. reckoned that he should discharge his obligation for it by giving the cap to the bishop of Arras; and the bishop sought only to make the interests he was entrusted with subservient to his own promotion. He knew very well, that the pope would never abandon Ferdinand, and that instead of favouring the French, he would use his utmost endeavours to drive them out of Italy. Joffredy, therefore, judging that he could gain nothing upon the pope, turned his mind wholly upon deceiving the king. He let him know, that the pope would give him satisfaction in the affair of the house of Anjou; but that it was inconsistent with the dignity of the holy see to invest the duke of Calabria before the suppression of the pragmatik sanction; whereas, if his majesty began with the abrogation of that ordinance, no scandal could arise from

from seeing the pope embrace the interests of a prince, to whom the interests of the church were so dear.

This reasoning was neither just, nor even specious; but the bishop of Arras used so many solicitations and delusive arguments to the king, that at last he gained his consent. He immediately gave notice of it to the pope, who in a moment wrote to his majesty. His letter *Oct. 28.* is filled with such warm acknowledgements, and such extravagant compliments, that he plainly appears to have received a favour, he had little reason to expect. Lewis is there treated as the greatest king which France ever had; heaven had not chosen him, nor protected him, nor adorned him with so many virtues, but because he was one day to abolish the pragmatick sanction; the glory of having subdued this monster is superior to that of having conquered the universe, or rendered mankind happy. The pope concludes his letter with exhorting the king to a crusade. He endeavours to revive that folly of the preceding ages, which had cost the lives of so many christians, and without producing any real advantage to religion, had served only to augment the power of the popes.

This letter was the more artful, as the pope constantly addresses himself therein to the king, as having actually engaged to abolish the pragmatick sanction, and by that means hindered him from going back. In short, in the answer his majesty returned to Pius II. his engagements are extremely full. His letter contained besides the compliments and submissions, which his majesty might have paid to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, but such as the pope should not have personally applied to himself. The bishop of Arras, to make an advantage of this success, wrote to the pope to give him the whole glory of

the affair, and to let him know at the same time, that he had ejected Gamet from the bishoprick of Poitiers, who had got possession of that see by means of a parliamentary decree. This action, says he, has been a thunder-stroke to the defenders of the pragmatick sanction. The bishop of Arras in this letter employs that address, which is so secure of prevailing with great men, and consists in giving them the honour of procuring success to an affair, without any the least intimation of an obligation on their part; their returns of acknowledgment being never more hearty, than when they think they are granting a favour, and not making a recompence for a service. In short, Pius II. had no sooner received this letter, than he made a promotion of six cardinals, in which the bishop of Arras was included. He also sent the king a sword, which he had blessed, with four Latin verses \* engraven upon the blade, to raise the value of it. Lewis received this present with great formality by the hands of the nuncio Anthony de Nocetis, or Noxe, and this frivolous ceremony was all the recompence he had for the sacrifice he made to the pope.

The parliament, to whom the king, according to custom, and even by the advice of the pope and the bishop of Arras, communicated his design, in order to make the abolition of the pragmatick sanction the more authentick, opposed it with great resolution, and made such strong and judicious remonstrances against it, that they were received by the clergy, and every other body of the realm.

They urged, that the pragmatick sanction had been passed in the most solemn assembly, after mature deliberations; and conformably to the councils; that the

\* *Exerat in Turcas tua me, Ladoice, furentes  
Dextera, Graiorum sanguinis ulter ero;  
Corruet imperium Mahumetis; Et incluta rursus  
Callorum virtus te petet astra duce.*

the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline was owing to this wise ordinance; that it did not contain a single article, which was not drawn from the canons of the ancient Councils. The parliament entered into a detail of the principal abuses, which would hereby be revived, such as elections contrary to the canons, usurpations upon the rights of collaters, reservations, ~~graces~~ <sup>graces</sup> ~~respective~~, the necessity of going with causes to Rome, and the immense sums which would be carried thither by the extortions of the Datterie.

The remonstrances of the parliament had no effect, and served only to give a proof of their own judgment and zeal. 1462. Apr. 18.  
The bishop of Arras set out for Rome with Richard de Longueil bishop of Coutance, John de Beauveau bishop of Angers, the bishop of Xaintes, Peter de Amboise lord of Clermont the head of the embassy, and Roger bailiff of Lyons.

The ambassadors made their entry into Rome with a numerous retinue; and almost all the cardinals went out to meet them. March.  
The bishop of Arras gave up to the pope the original of the pragmatick sanction, and in the same audience received the cardinals cap. In his speech he told the pope, that his majesty, after having given his holiness the highest marks of his zeal and attachment, hoped he would do justice to a prince of his blood against the usurper Ferdinand, and that in return for this service France would send a supply of forty thousand horse, and thirty thousand archers, to make war upon the Turks. The pope, instead of giving an answer to this article, and to avoid touching upon the question concerning the kingdom of Naples, broke off the audience with high commendations of the king.

The joy which was shewn at Rome upon this occasion cannot be expressed. All the labouring people

ple kept holyday, and nothing but processions were to be seen by way of thanksgiving. The highways were filled with fires and illuminations, and the commoner sort, who always shew their rejoicing by licentiousness, made representations of the pragmatick sanction, and drew them along the streets.

When the drunken fit was a little over, Chaumont, who had not the same reasons for betraying his trust with the bishop of Arras, spoke again of the claim of the house of Anjou; but the pope constantly avoided to give a positive answer to this article. He pretended, that he had granted the investiture to Ferdinand, only because he had found him in possession; and that if the two competitors would refer their differences to him as an arbitrator, he would do them justice. This was all the ambassadors could obtain, so that they returned without effecting any thing. The cardinal of Arras saved himself from disgrace, by persuading the king, that 'twas he who had been bubbled by the pope, and by shewing an affected indignation, which gratified his majesty's displeasure.

The king, however, resolving to make a second attempt, sent back to Rome the cardinal of Arras with Hugh Massip, surnamed Bournazel, the seneschal of Toulouse.

Bournazel addressing himself to the pope, *The king my master, says he, desires you to recall the troops which you have sent to the assistance of Ferdinand, and not to make war against a prince of his blood. You know that he has abolished the pragmatick sanction upon this sole condition. He has ordered all his subjects to pay you a full and perfect obedience; and he farther requires of you to become the friend of France, or otherwise I have orders to command all the French cardinals to depart, and you need not question but they will obey.* Bournazel had orders to talk in a high strain, and proceed to menaces, without putting them in execution.

cution. The cardinals were of opinion, that it was adviseable to give the king satisfaction, and not to provoke a mighty and revengeful prince; but the pope, being informed by the cardinal of Arras of the secret instructions given to the embassadors, made the following reply; *We are very much obliged to the king of France, but that does not give him a right of requiring us to act contrary to our own honour and justice; we sent succours to Ferdinand, in pursuance of the treaties we have made with him; let the king your master oblige the duke of Anjou to lay down his arms, and prosecute his claim by the method prescribed by law, and if Ferdinand refuses to submit to it, we will declare against him, but farther we cannot promise. If the French, who are in this court have a mind to retire, the gates are open to them.* The pope would not have spoke with so much haughtiness, if he had not depended upon the king's moderation; and thus this second embassy was as useless as the former.

Lewis XI. who was equally ashamed and enraged at having been thus indecently tricked, was upon the point of re-establishing the pragmatick sanction, and was kept from it only by the apprehension of being reputed fickle; however, he permitted the parliament to see it executed, except in the two articles concerning reservations and expectative graces. Joffredy, who for some small time past was named the cardinal of Albi, would gladly have pulled down what himself had built up, and took all possible pains from this time forward to traverse the pope's designs. This alteration arose from the following circumstance: when Pius II. gave him the bishoprick of Albi, he refused to join with it the archbishoprick of Besançon, and barely left him the choice of one of the two sees. The cardinal chose Albi, as having the most considerable revenue; but made a terrible outcry, as tho' they had offered him the greatest injury, imagining that the court of Rome ought for his sake to have

transgressed all laws, as he had broke thro' them for her. It seems, as though mankind never required greater acknowledgments, than when they sacrifice their virtue, which carries its own reward along with it.

The dispute concerning the pragmatick sanction was revived some time after; and we shall see a very warm debate concerning it between cardinal Balue and the procurer general S. Romain. This affair was not brought to a final conclusion till the concordate of Francis I. with Leo X.

The king was not so entirely taken up with this negotiation, but that he at the same time applied himself to the settlement of his affairs at home. He assigned to his mother queen Mary of Anjou a dowry of fifty thousand livres. He gave the duchy of Berry in apanage to his brother prince Charles, with an additional pension of twelve thousand livres. He particularly strove to make trade flourish, and to prevent the exportation of corn, which was usually carried out of the kingdom to the fairs of Geneva, he established the like fairs at Lyons, with the same privileges to strangers as to the natives of France.

As it was his inclination to engage the affection of the lords to the court, he usually made them eat with him, so that the expences of his table, which for the first year came only to twelve thousand livres, in time amounted to twenty-six thousand livres, and including the salaries of the stables, to thirty-seven thousand livres, insomuch that he was intreated by the generals of the finances to lessen his expences.

Making a progress to Tours, he there received a splendid embassy from Francis II. duke of Britany, to compliment him upon his accession to the throne. Lewis being apprehensive, lest the duke, upon his arrival soon after his embassadors to do him homage, should there meet with the count of Charolois, and  
that



that these two princes should form an alliance contrary to his interest, to prevent their interview, intended to advance farther into Britany, under a pretence of performing a vow he had made to S. Saviour of Rhedon; but the duke of Britany, who had already, as they say, made a treaty with the count of Charolois, by the mediation of Romilly the vice chancellor of Britany, arrived at Tours before the king's departure.

The duke had taken care to appear with a retinue capable of raising an high idea of his power. He was attended by the principal persons in his court, such as Laval, Rieux, Levi lord of Vauvert, la Roche, Derval, Malestroit, Couvran de Broom, Lannion, Coetivi, and a great many others. This prince paid only simple homage. The king required full homage; but thought proper to dissemble, till he found a favourable opportunity.

In the mean time he passed into Britany, and then directed his course towards Bayonne, to be present at the interview he had appointed with the king of Arragon, in order to pacify the troubles of Catalonia, whereof it is here necessary to lay open the original.

John of Arragon, the brother of king Alphonfus, was first married to Blanche of Navarre, the heirs of that crown, by whom he had one son, called the prince of Viane, and two daughters. Blanche the eldest was married to Henry IV. king of Castille, surnamed the Impotent; and Leonore the youngest was married to the count of Foix.

Upon the death of Blanche, queen of Navarre, the crown descended to the prince of Viane by the express terms of the marriage contract, which gave the regency of the kingdom only to king John during the minority of his son.

The king of Navarre having married for his second wife, Jane Henriquez the daughter of the

Amirante de Castille, had by her a son, who was Ferdinand the catholick. The new queen, who was the more jealous of her dignity, as she had no pretensions to it by her birth, persuaded her husband to keep the crown, and even resolved to fix it upon the head of Ferdinand. After having seduced the king by her charms, she farther subdued him by her artifices, and got possession of the royal authority. The prince of Viane, without any other succour than his right to the throne, which frequently becomes a crime when it is unsupported by force, was now thirty years of age, without having been able to obtain justice from his father, who was become a tyrant over him, though the laws had made him his subject in Navarre. Filial respect would probably have superseded his pretensions to the throne, if the prince of Viane had not been provoked to a resolution by a continued course of ill treatment, and the solicitations of the most faithful of the Navarrais, who demanded their lawful prince. The kingdom was divided between the father and the son; they marched against each other, and a battle decided the fate of the crown. The prince of Viane lost it, was obliged to fly, and took refuge in the court of his uncle Alphonfus king of Arragon, from whom he hoped for succour, or at least the good offices of a mediator; but Alphonfus dying some time after, was succeeded by John his brother.

The prince of Viane, to strengthen his interest, sought the alliance of Henry king of Castille, and demanded his sister the infanta Isabella in marriage. The king of Arragon upon information that this marriage was ready to be concluded, resolved to make himself secure of his son, by having recourse to dissimulation. He called together the states of Arragon at Fraga, and appointed those of Catalonia to meet at Lerida. As it was customary to notify the presumptive heir to the crown, he ordered his  
son

son to meet him at Lerida. The prince, who thought he had nothing to fear whilst he kept his conscience void of offence, and had too great reverence for his father to suspect him of treachery, went to meet him, tho' dissuaded from it by the advices he received from all quarters. He soon acknowledged that he had been to blame in neglecting them, for upon his arrival at Lerida he was taken into custody.

The Catalonians, and the deputies of the states of Arragon, reproached the king with violating the law of nations. His majesty, to justify himself, charged his son with the blackest crimes; calumny, violence, and artifice, were called in to his assistance; they were suggested by the queen, and served only to make the king odious, who was the instrument of them.

The persecution increased the number and zeal of the prince of Viane's party. Kings have need of their subjects esteem; it is the principle from whence flows their respect, and one of the bonds of obedience. The Navarrais, the Catalonians, and even the Arragonians, took up arms. The king, after carrying his son from castle to castle, was at last constrained to set him at liberty; but whether the queen had given him poison before his releasement, as seems highly probable, or it was owing to his grief to see his father retain an implacable aversion towards him, he fell into a lingering disease, which carried him off.

Blanche, the prince of Viane's sister, was not more fortunate in her fate than her brother. Her husband Henry IV. king of Castille, objected his own impotency to her as a crime, and divorced her. The count de Foix, who had married Leonore her sister, entered into a treaty with the king of Arragon, by which he consented to his possession of the kingdom of Navarre during life, upon con-

dition that after his decease it should pass into the house of Foix. To make good this treaty, the king of Arragon gave up his daughter Blanche into the hands of the count and countess of Foix, who shortened her \* days.

The count de Foix was very sensible that this treaty was not an indisputable Title. The late king of Navarre had other heirs as near as the countess de Foix. He did not doubt, but that in case the succession to the crown of Navarre should be contested, the protection of France would be very powerful, and with a view to secure it, he demanded the princess Magdalane, the sister of Lewis XI. in marriage for his eldest son the viscount of Castebon. The marriage was concluded at S. John de Angeli, and consummated at S. Macaire. The king gave his sister a hundred thousand crowns in gold.

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\* Neither the count de Foix, nor his son, reaped the fruit of this crime, for they died before the king of Arragon. Their posterity was not more fortunate. Their grandson died without children in 1483, after a very short reign. Catherine his sister conveyed this crown to John d'Albert, who was deprived of the greatest part of his dominions by Ferdinand the catholic. Ferdinand pretended, that as Blanche survived her Brother the prince of Viane, she succeeded to his titles, and transferred it to the king of Castille. It was by virtue of this donation, that some time after Ferdinand, being advanced to the throne of Castille, took away the best part of Navarre from Catherine the grand-daughter of the count de Foix and Leonore; he farther pretended, that he was the creditor for very large sums which Henry IV. king of Castille must have lent to the prince of Viane. 'Tis not true, that Ferdinand supported his claim upon an excommunication thundered out by Julius II. The invasion of Navarre preceded this excommunication; and besides, the thunders of the Vatican were at this time not able to break a scepter.

The count de Foix apprehending, lest the favour of the king of France should make him lose that of the king of Arragon, took all possible pains to form an alliance between these two princes, and prevailed upon them to consent to an interview, which passed on the bridge of Serrain, between Sauveterre and S. Palais, in the lower Navarre. There they entered into a league offensive and defensive. The king of Arragon had a pressing occasion for succours. The Catalonians, who had took up arms in defence of the prince of Viane's title, had revolted again to revenge his death. Roussillon, Cerdagne, and Arragon itself, had followed the example of the Catalonians, so that the revolt was become general. Lewis XI. supplied the king of Arragon with three hundred thousand old crowns in gold of sixty-four to the mark, and fifty thousand crowns in gold of the current coin, which were employed in raising and maintaining eleven hundred lances to reduce the rebels. King John was obliged to reimburse the three hundred thousand crowns a year after the reduction of Catalonia, and mortgaged to the king by way of security the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, with the towns and castles of Perpignan and Collioure. This treaty, which was projected on the bridge of Serrain, was signed at Bayonne on the 9th of May. The engagement was made with a power of redemption, a clause which is usually interpreted according to the interest of the actual possessor.

Whilst this treaty was making, the queen of Arragon flying before the rebels with her son Ferdinand, a child of between eight and nine years old, shut herself up in the castle of Gironne, and was soon besieged there by Hugh Rocabert, count of Pallas.

The count de Foix marched towards Roussillon with a body of French troops, whose principal officers were the bastard of Lescun, then called marshal de Comminges, Crussol, the lord of Albert, la Hire,

Hire, Navarret, Noailles, Montpezat, Brusac, Riquault, Castel-Bayard, John and Gaspard Bureau.

The French soon made themselves masters of Salces, Villelongue, Lupia, S. Marie, and Canet. The passage of Bolou, defended by the son of the count of Palhas, was forced, and the castle carried by storm, after prodigies of valour shewn on both sides. The only thing left was the queen's deliverance, who was reduced to the last extremity. All that were shut up with her had, as they say, nothing to live upon, but a small handful of beans and almonds, which were daily distributed to every one of them. Palhas, animated with rage, and breathing nought but vengeance for the defeat of his son, pressed the siege with vigour: and to relieve the queen, it was necessary for the army to make their way through two thousand Catalonians that were entrenched in the narrow pass of Pertuis, between Bolou and Gironne.

The count de Foix left a part of his army at Bolou, and advanced towards the defile of Pertuis at the head of four hundred gendarms, six and twenty lances, a thousand archers of ordnance, and two thousand frank archers. The Catalonians constantly brave, and as constantly unfortunate through their temerity, instead of keeping within their intrenchments, went out to meet an enemy, who was equal to them in courage, and superior in number. The combat was bloody, but at last the French got the better of the Catalonians, gained the defile of Pertuis, and put all to the sword that came in their way.

The count de Foix marched forwards. Figuières and Bescara opened their gates to him. Palhas observing the consternation to spread among his troops, raised the siege, and retired to Torelhes. The count de Foix immediately entered the castle; the queen melting

melting into tears ran to meet him, and embraced him, calling him her deliverer.

The count de Foix taking advantage of the consternation of the Catalonians, pursued Palhas; and the latter knowing that terror soon seizes upon rebels, unless they be inspired with boldness, marches out of Torelhes at the head of sixteen thousand men, and draws up his army in order of battle within sight of the French. The Catalonians immediately set up large cries according to their custom, and made a discharge of their whole artillery; but as they had raised their pieces too high, the bullets flew over the heads of the French soldiers, who in a moment charged the enemy briskly. Hereupon the Catalonians in a fright took to their heels; some-escaped into the town, and others threw down their arms, and fought to save themselves among the rocks; it was rather a flight than a combat. The queen of Arragon was a spectator of the victory, and felt all the pleasure that vengeance can give. The count de Foix soon reduced the whole country. The king of Arragon then joined the army, and resolved to lay siege to Barcelona.

The Barcelonians, bold in their revolt, published a declaration, that the rebels were those who did not fulfil their engagements, and that the king had by this means forfeited his right to rule over them. All the inhabitants above fourteen years of age took up arms, and their number amounted to thirty thousand.

The besiegers did scarce exceed eight thousand men, which were hardly able to supply the trenches, and as the town lay open to the sea, it was easy to furnish it with provisions, and fresh troops. This siege had been carried on three weeks, when news was brought that an army of Castilians appeared upon the frontiers. The king of Arragon was apprehensive it should march towards Sarragossa, the loss of which would have drawn after it the loss of the whole

whole kingdom. He was therefore obliged to let his resentment give way to prudence; by quitting Barcelona. The count de Foix revenged himself upon Villefranche, which was stormed, and given up to plunder. To wipe off the affront they had lately received before Barcelona, the army laid siege to Tarragonne, which would have been carried by storm, if the archbishop, who was natural brother to the king of Arragon, had not disposed his majesty to clemency, and the inhabitants to submission.

All the neighbouring places, except Lerida, followed the example of Tarragonne. The king of Arragon after this immediately marched to Sarra-gossa, of whose fidelity he had cause to be suspicious. He made his entry with all the warlike appearance that was capable of intimidating that proud city. The inhabitants pretended, that by their privileges they were exempted from the reception of troops; but whether frightened, or gained over, they chose rather to waive their pretensions, than run the risk of losing their rights by a fruitless opposition.

The fate of Europe seems to be necessarily united with that of France. 'Tis its destiny to be at all times the ally, the enemy, or the arbiter of the other powers. Lewis found himself obliged to take almost an equal share in the divisions of England, as in the troubles of Spain and Italy.

To be acquainted with the original of the civil wars of England, we must go back as far as Edward III. This prince had seven sons. Edward the eldest, prince of Wales, surnamed the Black Prince, who gained the battle of Poitiers, died before his father. Richard, the prince of Wales's son, succeeded to Edward his grandfather; but the earl of Derby, son to the duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward, usurped the crown from Richard, and reigned by the name of Henry IV. From him the scepter passed to his son Henry V. The great qualities of these



these two princes supplied their want of right; but the English did not pay a like submission to Henry VI. who with all the christian virtues had not the talents of a king. Margaret of Anjou his queen possessed them in the highest degree. No princess was ever more worthy of a throne. Superior to all other women in beauty, she was equal in courage to the greatest men; intrepid in danger, resolute under misfortunes, she never lost the hope which frequently finds out a remedy; she would have made England happy, if the duke of York had not fomented there the fire of rebellion. This prince, unable to bear the favour of the duke of Somerset, retired from court, and raised an army. His chief confederate was Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick, descended from the illustrious house of the Plantagenets. He was the hero of England, in an age when valour was too common to be accounted meritorious\*. Intrepid, prudent, active, ready to lay hold of a proper opportunity, and skilled in preparing the way to it, he seldom owed any part of his success to chance; stirred up, but not blinded, by ambition, he formed no projects, but such as were to succeed; his hopes were the presage of his success. Instead of attempting himself to ascend the throne, he successively placed there two kings of opposite parties, reserving to himself the glory of keeping them in possession, to have the privilege of reigning in their names. After having decided the fate of the kings, he fell a victim to the ingratitude of him, whose protector he had been.

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\* To this period we must refer the original of the two most cruel parties that ever divided a state, that of the house of York, distinguished by the white rose, and that of the house of Lancaster, which bore the red. They reckon up thirty pitched battles, wherein the hatred of these two parties was signalized.

As soon as ever the civil war broke out, Warwick declared in favour of the duke York. Henry VI. marched against them, and the army they had raised, and gave them battle near St. Albans; but he lost the day, and was taken prisoner. Somerset was killed in the engagement. The duke brought back the king to London, called a parliament, made himself to be declared protector of the realm, whilst he left to Henry the vain title of king, which is but a mortifying thing, when void of power.

In the mean time the queen sought to free herself from the servitude to which the duke of York had reduced her. She very artfully drew over many to her party, and then resuming her former authority, obliged the duke again to leave London. The king attempted in vain to compose the dissension, and reconcile so many different interests. In his endeavours to procure peace he shewed too much weakness to prevent a war. The jealousy of the government still subsisting, the same quarrels were once more revived, and England saw itself again the theatre of civil war. After several engagements on both sides with various success, the two armies of the king and the duke of York, whereof the latter was commanded by the earl of Warwick, met near Northampton, and came to a battle. The fight lasted for upwards of five hours with equal fury; but at last the king proved here to be as unfortunate as at St. Albans; he was again taken prisoner, and left 10,000 of his men dead in the field. The queen escaped into the county of Durham with the prince of Wales, who was then a child, and was followed by the duke of Somerset, the son to him who had been slain at St. Albans.

The duke of York returned to London in triumph, called a parliament, and seated himself in the regal throne. He there declared, that the house of Lancaster had usurped a crown which belonged  
only

only to him, as having married the heirs of the \* duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III. whereas the duke of Lancaster, from whom Henry VI. was descended, was only the fourth. *Henry earl of Derby*, added the duke of York, *in some sort effaced the crime of his usurpation by the glory of his reign. Henry V, did no less honour to his country, and I readily gave up my private interest to the interest of the nation. But now that the crown is upon the head of a prince too weak to support it, I demand it as a right, which no person can dispute with me, or ought to refuse me.*

The silence of the assembly sufficiently convinced the duke, that Henry was still dear to the English. The right of the house of York was undeniable; but the house of Lancaster had been long in possession, and princes have sometimes no other title. The duke, displeased to find himself disappointed in his expectations, quitted the assembly in haste, bidding them *consider of it, that he had taken his resolution, and would advise them to take theirs.* The parliament, intimidated more by the duke's power, than persuaded by his arguments, came to a temper, which the duke did not think it advisable to reject, and which perhaps the king could not have flattered himself with the hopes of. They drew up an act, wherein they in reality confirmed to the duke the authority he had gained. By this act the crown was settled upon the house of York, whilst the empty title of king was to remain to Henry during life, but was not to descend to his posterity. All opposition now fell before the duke of York. This so haughty nation, which rather struggles for liberty than enjoys it, judges itself independent when it changes its masters. Thus have we sometimes seen it rise up in arms against its lawful kings, and cringe under an usurper.

They

\* It should be, as being descended from the heirs of the duke of Clarence.

They obliged Henry to send to the queen, requiring her to ratify the act of parliament; but her majesty judging it injurious to the king to imagine such an order could come from him, did not think fit to return any answer. The duke of York resolved to march against her, before she had time to increase her army. He committed the guard of the king and the city to the duke of Norfolk, and the earl of Warwick; he dismissed his eldest son the earl of March to levy soldiers, and gave orders that he should join him with all the troops he could gather; and taking along with him his second son the earl of Rutland, and Salisbury, he departed from London with a body of men. When he came to Wakefield, he learnt that the queen was advancing towards him at the head of 18,000 men, whom she commanded in person. He had about 5000, with whom he could have intrenched himself, till the earl of March was come up; but thinking it dishonourable to see himself besieged by a woman, he took the field.

Margaret, who was as prudent as courageous, at first led up only a part of her army, which immediately engaged; but the rest soon after surrounding the duke of York, his troops were cut to pieces, and himself killed upon the spot. The earl of Rutland, who was then scarce twelve years of age, threw himself at the lord Clifford's feet, and begged for life; but Clifford making an ill use of the victory, said, that *as his father had slain his, so would be the destruction of him and all his race.* Upon these words he plunged his dagger in his breast, and then spying the body of the duke of York stretched upon the plain, he fell upon it, cut off his head, and carried it to the queen. This head, with the heads of Rutland and Salisbury, her majesty caused to be set on the walls of York, distinguishing the head of the duke by a crown of paper.

The

The queen immediately marched towards London. Warwick and Norfolk set out to meet her, came to an engagement with her at St. Albans, were defeated, and obliged to leave the king behind, whom they had brought with them. This unhappy prince thus passed from liberty into bondage, and from bondage into liberty, without seeming at all concerned at it. His keepers were put to death by the queen, tho' he demanded their pardon. She thought it necessary, both for the honour of Henry himself, and their common security, to take upon herself the administration of authority, and that as his majesty had not known how to punish, it did not belong to him to shew mercy. London was ready to open its gates, when news was brought, that the earl of March was approaching, and that he had already defeated the earl of Pembroke near Hereford.

Edward earl of March, who was then about eighteen years of age, was the most genteel and beautiful prince of his time, and had every qualification that could recommend, joined with the highest valour. His eager pursuit of pleasures was alone capable of balancing his passion for glory.

This prince, pushed on by an earnest desire of revenging his father's death, saw plainly, that if he would reign, he must begin with fighting, and fix his pretensions upon a sure footing, before he could make them be accepted. Accordingly he lost no time, but marched strait towards London. The queen, apprehensive that she should be attacked at the same time by Edward, and the rebels, who were masters of the town, retired with the king into the north of England, from whence she sent to demand assistance of Charles VII. His majesty, however, could then give her only distant hopes, and the necessity was pressing.

Edward,

Edward, finding no opposition, entered London in triumph, and was received with loud acclamations. He took his advantage of the peoples zeal, called together the chief of the Clergy, Lords and Commons, and, seemingly submitting himself to the judgment of the assembly, made a like declaration of his titles as his father had done before in parliament. This claim appeared still more forcible in the mouth of the son, as the English, who already stood engaged to the father, were farther charmed by the graceful deportment of his youth and person. Edward was also naturally eloquent, which is no small advantage in a state, where the people have any influence in the government. He spoke with that confidence, which is a prelude to victory. In gaining the people, 'tis much better to set too high a value upon one's pretensions, than to lessen them. Rashness strikes the multitude, and draws them along without leaving them the liberty of reflection. Edward not only demanded the crown, but pretended that Henry had lost all right to the title of king, as he had broken the act of agreement, by which it was preserved to him. The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and in the instant Edward was proclaimed king on the 3d of March, 1461.

His only care was to subdue the powerful party, which Henry still had: and with this view he marched against him into the north of England. The armies were not far from each other, when the lord Clifford surpris'd the castle of Ferribrig, and put the garison to the sword. Some of the soldiers, who escaped from the slaughter, fled to Edward's army, and would have, undoubtedly, spread terror amongst the soldiers, if his resolution had not animated them with courage. *If any man, says he, has a mind to depart, let him go; but if, during the action, he is so cowardly as to attempt to fly, we will give him less quarter than the enemy.* Nothing inspires

men

men with more courage, than to give them openly the choice of shame or glory: the soldier, who shares in the intrepidity of his commanders, breathes nought but battle. The earl of Warwick, adding example to discourse, quits his horse, kills it with his own hand, to put himself under a necessity of fighting on foot, and kissing his sword, *Let him fly, who will fly*, cries he, \* *I will die with those, who will die with me.* At the same time they learnt, that Clifford had been taken by surprize, and slain, as he was attempting to force his way sword in hand to join king Henry. The next day, being Palm-sunday, the two armies came in fight near Towton. Edward had with him 40,000 men, and Henry 60,000.

The battle began at nine in the morning, and ended not till night. Some authors say that it lasted two days. Edward ordered his soldiers to give no quarter, and not to fire till they were close to the enemy; so that they soon came to blows. Edward, as general and soldier, both commanded and fought in every quarter. The slaughter was terrible, and the victory stood a long time doubtful. They fought on both sides with equal fury, and the soldier who fell had his place instantly supplied by his fellow. Death raged universally, and the battle would doubtless not have been ended but by the destruction of both parties, had not a violent wind arose, which carrying a tempest of hail and snow into the faces of Henry's soldiers, made them lose the advantage. Upon this they began to give way; notwithstanding they rallied by troops, and returned again to the charge like men in despair; they were at last however obliged to leave Edward master of the field, covered with upwards of six and thirty thousand slain. 'Tis said, that the river Warfe was dyed with blood, and covered with carcases, and that the conquerors passed

\* His words were, *I will stand by those, who will stand by me.*

passed over a rivulet which falls into the Warfe, on a heap of the slain. The earl of Devonshire, and some other of the principal officers, that were taken prisoners, lost their lives on a scaffold; and had their heads set up in the place of the duke of York's, Rutland's, and Salisbury's.

Henry, Margaret, and the prince of Wales, escaped into Scotland, from whence they sent Somerset to implore the assistance of Lewis XI. who was lately come to the crown; but as his majesty did not care to intermeddle in any war which could not be of advantage, he contented himself with offering Margaret an asylum in France. Indeed Lewis could not openly enter into any engagement with her, because he at the same time kept up a correspondence with Edward. The queen of England, however, went over into France, and attended upon the king at Chinon. The ambassadors of Scotland, the agents of the earl of Warwick, Somerset, and Edward, were all there at the same time, and alike entertained at the king's expence. They all attempted to engage his majesty in the party they espoused. He was well inclined towards Margaret, in whose favour he was sollicitated by the queen his mother, by king Reignier, and the count du Maine; but all they could obtain from him was, the loan of 20,000 livres to king Henry, which he engaged to pay back in a year's time, or to give up Calais, when re-established on the throne. This last article had more of rashness than solidity in it; nor could it have been executed without raising again a general insurrection throughout all England.

The duke of Britany seemed more affected than any other person whatsoever, with the situation of Henry and Margaret, and resolved to declare war against Edward. Margaret hoped, that the king's generosity would be provoked by this example; but, as he had no inclination to quarrel with England,  
and



and did not love the duke of Britany, he was not much concerned to see him so slightly engage in a dangerous war; and so much the rather persisted in observing a strict neutrality. However, instead of real services, he paid Margaret all the honours due to a queen, and before her departure, stood godfather with her to the new-born child of the duchess of Orleans, which, afterwards, came to be king Lewis XII.

In the mean while news was brought, that the English fleet, consisting of two hundred sail, with 16,000 men on board, was put to sea from Portsmouth. Whereupon his majesty ordered his forces to march towards the several coasts, where it was likely the English would attempt to land. He likewise visited in person, the several places liable to be attacked, took an account of their state, provided them with necessary ammunition, and by this vigilance disappointed the designs of the English, who, to preserve their power over the sea, are constantly obliged to make great armaments, very burthensome to themselves, and sometimes of no service.

Brézé, seneschal of Normandy, was the person who most concerned himself in the misfortunes of the queen of England. 'Tis pretended also, that he was influenced in this affair by a warmer motive than compassion. He got together two thousand men, and embarked with her majesty. She expected to find a powerful party in the north of England; but when she would have landed at Tinmouth, they fired upon her, and obliged her to stand off. And scarce was she again put to sea, before a storm arose, which separated her ships. The vessel wherein she herself was, was fortunately driven into Berwick, a place in Scotland. The rest were wrecked upon the coast of England. Brézé, with the French, shut himself up in Alnwick, where he was besieged. He defended himself with

so much valour, that he gave time for George Douglas, earl of Angus, to march to his assistance, and raise the siege.

On the other side, Somersets and Sir Ralph Piercy joined the camp of Henry, and were followed by so great a number of Englishmen, that the queen's army was capable of keeping the field; but, as she had neither money nor provisions, it was not possible for her to make her troops observe any discipline. Montacute, who commanded the army of Edward, taking advantage of this disorder, attacked the camp of Henry, and took it by storm. The king and queen fled different ways. Henry was some time after taken, and conveyed to the tower of London. This prince was so accustomed to be governed, that he grew very indifferent concerning his masters. Margaret was not altogether so insensible; deserving of a throne by her virtue, and superior to misfortune by her constancy, she escaped, with her son, into a forest, where she fell into the hands of robbers. The thieves began with stripping her of her jewels; but disagreeing amongst themselves about the division of so rich a booty, the queen, whose soul was never changed by misery, laid hold of the opportunity to make her escape, and taking her son up in her arms, threw herself into the thickest of the forest, and trusted to chance. In this situation she was met by another robber, and not being able, through weariness, to run, and fearful only for her son, she approached the thief with that air of majesty, which never forsook her, *Here, says she, my friend, save the son of your king.* The highway-man touched with compassion, and struck with respect, took the young prince, assisted the queen in walking, and conveyed her to the sea-side, where they found a barque, which carried them to Sluys. The duke of Burgundy received her with all the respect due to great personages under misfortune, and presented

presented her with two thousand crowns, and conveyed her to king Reignier her father.

If Lewis XI. had consulted only his inclinations, he would have given assistance to Margaret; but he was then taken up with affairs of too great importance on the side of Spain, to intermeddle with those of England.

The king of Arragon, after he had subdued his rebellious subjects, would have employed the French troops against Henry king of Castille. The count de Foix, who dreaded the claim of Henry to the kingdom of Navarre, approved the king of Arragon's design; but marshal de Comminges, Crussol, and the other French officers, represented, that there had been an alliance between the kings of France and Castille, from crown to crown, and from people to people, for three hundred years past; that this alliance had lately been renewed, and did not allow them to fight against the Castillians. Besides, the king of Arragon began to fall under suspicion. Andrew Roscades, whom this prince had sent to persuade Edward IV. to declare war against France, had been taken into custody; and news was brought at the same, that the castle of Perpignan was besieged by the inhabitants of the town; and it was not doubted but the king of Arragon had engaged them to it by some secret practices. To prevent the revolt of Roussillon, the king sent a second army, under the command of James d'Armagnac, lately made duke of Nemours, with the titles, rank, and prerogatives of duke and peer. This was a favour without example, and so much the greater, as since the creations of new duchies, none but the princes of the blood had as yet been graced with that title; for which reason the parliament opposed it, and did not acquiesce in it till after several letters of jussion. His majesty found the like opposition, when he erected the county of

Retel into a peerage in favour of the count de Nevers. The parliament was apprehensive \*, that an increase in number might take off from the value of this dignity.

The duke of Nemours entered Rouffillon towards the close of the year 1462, raised the siege of the castle of Perpignan, took a fort by storm which the inhabitants had raised against the castle, and put all that were in it to the sword; he would have even entered the town, notwithstanding all the intrenchments, if it had not been his inclination to save it from plunder. The magistrates, attended by the principal citizens, threw themselves immediately at his feet, implored his pardon, and swore to be constantly faithful to France.

The king of Arragon, not succeeding in his scheme of engaging Lewis XI. to take up arms against Henry IV. king of Castille, used his utmost endeavours to stir up jealousies between  
*April 10.* these two princes. Lewis intending to  
 1463. remove the suspicions they had sought to raise in Henry, had sent Inigo Darfeo, called the Bourser of Spain, to entreat him not to give credit to any reports they should make to him, to assure him that nothing was capable of destroying the union there was betwixt them, and to propose to him an interview, wherein to terminate the differences subsisting between Castille and Arragon. To give the greater weight to the negotiation, the king sent admiral Montauban as his ambassador, with

\* The parliament could have no other motives, as the count de Nevers was of the royal family, and that of Armagnac was descended from Clovis by Charibert the son of Dagobert, whose filiation is proved in the new history of Languedoc; so that the race of Clovis was not extinct till Lewis d'Armagnac duke of Nemours was slain at the battle of Cerignole in 1503. He was the son of that James we are here speaking of.

with the same instructions, and set out at the same time for the frontiers, after having named Charles de Melun bailiff of Sens, and Beauveau, lord of Precigny, the \* premier president of the chamber of accounts, lieutenants-general of the kingdom.

The king of Arragon made it his whole care, that the interview of the kings of France and Castille, should not be prejudicial to his interests. With this view he had sent the constable, Peter Peralte into France, whose journey ended in betraying his master, by selling himself to Lewis XI. for a pension of 20,000 livres.

The interview of the two kings was preceded by conferences, held at Bayonne, at which Lewis XI. was present. The king of Castille sent thither Alphonso Cavillo, archbishop of Toledo, and John Pacheco. The queen of Arragon came thither in person, attended by a prelate and the grand master of the military order of Monteza.

Edward, by that wretched policy, which leads princes to believe that the happiness of their own dominions depends upon the misfortunes and divisions of their neighbours, endeavoured to interrupt these conferences. Notwithstanding they ended in a treaty, by which Henry renounced all his pretences to Navarre, and gave up Catalonia to the king of Arragon, who engaged to give him 50,000 pistoles in return; there was nothing but Merindade d'Estelle, about which these princes could not agree; and this they referred to the judgment of the king. Lewis decided in favour of Henry, and assigned to him the city and territory of Estelle, though it was

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a portion

\* There were originally two parliaments of the chamber of accounts. The first was a layman, and one of the greatest lords of the kingdom, sometimes even a prince. The second was a clergyman. The first office is suppressed. The second still subsists, and the qualification of being a clergyman is still declared in the grant.

a portion of Navarre, which, by the same treaty, was re-united to Arragon. A general pardon was also granted to the rebels. This treaty was equally disagreeable to all the contracting parties. The Catalonians loudly complained, that they were betrayed by the king of Castille; the Navarros protested against it, as it dismembered the kingdom of Navarre, by giving the city of Estelle to the king of Castille; and the king of Arragon had hoped that Lewis would have adjudged that article in his favour; Henry pretended, that the alliances which had ever subsisted between the crowns of France and Castille should have hindered Lewis XI. from treating with the king of Arragon, and accepting the engagement of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne; Lewis XI. was dissatisfied that he had not obtained Biscaye, which he claimed in the right of his great-grandmother Mary of Spain, the daughter of Ferdinand, and heirs of Lara. In short, all the parties were discontented, from carrying their pretensions too high.

In the mean time, Lewis and Henry prepared for their interview, which after the treaty was concluded, was but a scene of representation; and upon this score the more important in the eyes of Henry. This prince kept his court at Almazan, and gave himself up entirely to entertainments and pleasures, which were very customary in Spain, before the house of Austria had introduced amongst them pride and haughtiness. As he was fond of shew, he deferred the interview only that he might appear with the greater magnificence: And pompous indeed his appearance was to the highest degree. Henry, who was ugly and deformed, imagined that ornament supplied the defects of nature. He was attended by a troop of courtiers, who, to comply with the taste of their master, were most splendidly apparelled. Bertrand de la Cueva, count of Le-

desma,

defma, Henry's favourite, was particularly distinguished by the richness of his dress; his very buskins were embellished with precious stones, and the sails of the vessel which set him ashore were interwoven with gold.

Lewis fell into the opposite extreme. Though he was always very negligent in his dress, he seemed upon this occasion to have affected a more than ordinary plainness. Commines says of him, *that he was dressed so ill, he could not be worse*. He had on a suit of coarse cloth, with an old hat upon his head, remarkable only for a *Notre-Dame* of lead, which was fastened on it. His coat was likewise very short, which, at that time of day, was scarce decent. The duke of Bourbon, the count de Foix, the prince of Navarre, and the count de Comminges, imitated the king's plain manner, and appeared in a military habit. Thus it was, that Lewis and Henry met upon the bank of the river Bidassoa. Henry, far from claiming the precedency, passed the river, and came to meet the king. They embraced each other, and conferring for some time apart, they called together their retinues, and had the treaty read over. All authors agree, that Lewis and Henry parted very coolly. The magnificence of the Castillians raised the jealousy of the French, and the plainness of the French inspired the Castillians with contempt. Lewis XI. very justly disdained an useless pomp; but he despised it too much upon occasions, where it would have been advisable not to have totally neglected it, or where perhaps there was more affectation in omitting it, than there would have been pride in making use of it. He thought it enough to gain over with bribes the ministers of Henry, a commerce as shameful to the prince who corrupts, as dishonourable to the subjects who betray their masters.

This interview forms an epocha of so much the greater consequence in the history of France, and even in the history of Europe, as from this time the French and Spaniards, after being so long united, took up that hatred against each other, which subsisted for upwards of two hundred years.

Though great events, and the warmest attachments, do frequently arise from very trifling beginnings, we may yet venture to affirm, notwithstanding the common opinion, that the interview of Lewis XI. with the king of Castille was neither the cause, nor the precise epocha, of the mutual hatred which prevailed between the French and Spaniards. In tracing back to the first rise of this hatred or jealousy, which is the same thing between two people, we may find a more probable motive. It did not begin till Ferdinand the catholick had united Arragon and Castille under his dominion. Spain ceased to be the friend of France, as soon as it was capable of becoming its rival. This jealousy increased upon the conjunction of the imperial throne with the crown of Spain; and the union of these two nations did not begin to shew itself again, till after the royal family of France was placed upon the Spanish throne.

In the mean time Lewis XI. to satisfy the count de Foix for the town of Estelle, which was part of Navarre, gave up to him his pretensions to the counties of Rouffillon and Cerdagne, and by way of security put him in possession of the town and seneschalcy of Carcassonne; but the king of Arragon not complying with the treaty, in restoring Estelle to the king of Castille, Lewis retained Rouffillon and Cerdagne.

The inhabitants of Perpignan sent deputies to the king, to desire a sight of the instrument which transferred to him Rouffillon and Cerdagne, as also to know if he intended to unite them to his crown, and  
in



in this case to require of him the confirmation of their privileges. The king made answer, that as they were a revolted people, he had made a conquest of them whilst they were without a lord, and that the title of conquest was sufficient for him ; but besides Rouffillon and Cerdagne had been mortgaged to him for 300,000 crowns ; that he intended to unite them to his crown, and thereby restore the ancient boundary of France, by carrying it as far as the Pyrenean mountains. Lewis was well pleased to grant a confirmation of their privileges to the inhabitants of Perpignan ; but then this was done with so many alterations, that they seemed to be new laws, and expressed the more the change of their sovereign. He issued out also several letters of abolition, proceeding from the same principle, and nominated the count of Candale viceroy of the province.

Scarce was the king got clear of the war with Spain, before he had business at Rome of another nature. No sooner had the pope obtained the abolition of the pragmatick sanction, than graces expectative, and all the benefices, were sold as at a common auction. Neither learning nor morality were sufficient ties to gain them, but he who offered most was judged to be the most deserving. Whoever hoped for them went to settle at Rome, and carried with them such large sums of money, that there was none to be found even among the bankers. Such a trade so contrary to the Laws, so pernicious to the state, and scandalous to the church, raised the zeal of the parliament. The president John Boulanger, the advocate general Gannay, and the procureur general St. Romain, followed the king into Languedoc, to lay their complaints before him.

Upon these representations, his majesty published an ordinance at Muret, for the *May 24.* preservation of his authority, and the rights of the parliament ; with an order to the procureur

cureur general, to appeal from the attempts or censures of the pope to a future council, after having conferred with the university. There

June were besides two other ordinances ex-  
19. & 30. planatory of the former, for the prefer-  
vation of the regale, forbidding all col-  
lectors and agents of the pope to proceed by way of  
censure under pain of banishment. Lastly, by a  
declaration bearing date the 10th of September 1464,  
the king complains of the prodigious number of gra-  
ces expectative granted by the pope to *strangers un-  
known and incapable of fealty, from whence several great  
and innumerable evils had followed to his majesty, and  
the common weal,* “ and forbad all persons whatsoever  
“ from obtaining any benefice without his per-  
“ mission, conformable to the ancient laws of the  
“ kingdom.” In short, in the times when elections  
were most free, they never proceeded to any elec-  
tion, especially of a bishop, but it was expressed in  
the instrument, that it was done by the king’s com-  
mand, or by his consent and authority.

The pope was the more offended with what con-  
cerned the appeal to a future council, as he had de-  
clared in the council of Mantua, that whoever  
should appeal from him should be looked upon as  
hereticks. Pius would have been glad to have raised  
up enemies to the king, but his majesty’s power  
was then too well established, to stand in dread of  
any ill designs. Edward had business enough upon  
his hands in England; the king of Arragon was  
reduced; the king of Castille was a weak prince, and  
little esteemed by his subjects; and he was secure of  
the duke of Burgundy by means of the Croys.  
Notwithstanding there were constantly some diffe-  
rences between the king and the duke. The duke  
had sent Chimay to demand the deeds relating to  
Luxembourg, and to complain of several infractions  
of the treaty of Atras. Chimay, not being able to  
obtain

obtain an audience, waited for the king as he came out of his chamber. His majesty, offended with this importunity, asked him, if the duke of Burgundy was made of *an other metal from other princes.* *Why, yes, truly,* replied Chimay, *since he received and protected you, when no body else durst do it.* Lewis, struck with Chimay's resolution, and still farther with the truth, returned into his chamber without answering a word. The count de Dunois telling Chimay, he was surprized at his boldness towards a prince so absolute as the king was, *Had I been fifty leagues upon my journey,* replied Chimay, *and the king had spoken of my master, as he has now done, I would have come back again to have given him the answer I did.* Chimay returned home without effecting any thing, and some time after the duke of Burgundy laid before the council a long memorial of grievances committed by the king's officers; this was answered with a list of other grievances, so that all seemed ready for a rupture; but the king was diverted from it by an apprehension, that Edward would join with the duke of Burgundy; and the duke was willing to be at peace abroad, which he could not keep in his own Family. The haughty, turbulent disposition of the count de Charolois gave him a great deal of trouble, and it was with the utmost concern he saw there was a mortal hatred between the counts of Nevers and Estempes his nephews. The duke therefore was far from thinking of a war, and for this reason he told the ambassadors of Edward, that the best advice he could give their master, was to make peace with France, offering himself to make the overture.

The king accepted of the proposition, and gave a full power to Anthony de Croy. Edward seeing he had every thing to fear from the Scots, in case they should unite among themselves, and join with France, sent his plenipotentiaries, who concluded a

truce for a Year. Lewis XI. kept an ambaffador at his court from Henry VI. to let Edward fee, that it was not through fear, but merely out of regard to the welfare of his people, that he defired peace.

Lewis, as an acknowledgment for the good offices of Anthony de Croy, and to difcharge the expences he had been at in his fervice, gave him the county of Guines, the barony of Ardres, feveral lands near S. Omers, and took the whole family of Croy under his protection. They had at this time the more need of it, as Philip duke of Burgundy dying, they had reason to apprehend the indignation of his fon.

The count of Charolois had nothing in common with Lewis XI. but the hatred he bore to every thing that his father liked; and for this reafon the Croys were odious to him. His favourite, the count of S. Pol, ftirred him up ftill more againft them, and fought to deftroy them. He charged the count of Eftempes with having ufed forcery and witchcraft againft the count of Charolois, by the advice of the Croys.

John Bruyere, the count of Eftempes's Phyfician, was accused of making images of wax, with the affiftance of a monk, of dipping them in the water that fell from a mill, and writing upon the forehead of one of them, Lewis, for the king; on the forehead of another, Philip, for the duke of Burgundy; and on the third, Charles, for the count of Charolois. Upon the ftomach of each of them was put John, for the count of Eftempes, and on the back Belial. The intention of the count of Eftempes was, as they faid, by the charm of the two firft figures, to fecure to himfelf the favour of the king and the duke of Burgundy, and to employ the third in throwing the count of Charolois into a languifhing diftemper, which fhould carry him off. A very ferious enquiry was made into this affair, and advice given of it to the king; but it was carried no farther, for want of proofs.

*I fhould*

I should not have mentioned so idle a story, or such ridiculous circumstances, but to give some notion of the superstition prevailing at that time. The history of human understanding must serve only to bring down its pride.

The protection the king granted to the Croys, was one of the first motives of the count of Charolois's aversion towards his majesty. It was soon turned into an irreconcilable hatred thro' several motives. The first of these was, that the count's commission for commanding in Normandy expiring, the king did not renew it. The second arose from the redemption of the towns upon the Somme, which were mortgaged to the duke of Burgundy, by the treaty of Arras for 400,000 crowns. The count de Charolois took all possible pains to dissuade his father from giving back these towns; but the Croys, who were in the king's interest, prevailed upon the duke to give them up.

As soon as the redemption was concluded, the king remitted 200,000 crowns to the duke of Burgundy, and sent the chancellor Peter de Morvilliers, and Beauveau the premier president of the chamber of accounts, to desire the parliament would lend him for the second payment the money they were entrusted with, promising to restore it out of the first sums, that should come to his hands. The parliament consented to it for the good of the state, and lent him 40,000 livres. To this was added part of the funds designed for the army; all the provinces contributed, and the sums they supplied finished the payment; and served to pay the loans, which the king had been obliged to make.

The easy manner whereby the king recovered the towns upon the Somme; led him to attempt the recovery of Lisle, Douay, and Orchies, which had been mortgaged to duke Philip the Bold. He went so far as to make the proposal; but the count de  
Charolois

Charolois had raised such a clamour about the treaty concerning the towns on the Somme, that the duke made answer, that as these other places had been given up to his grandfather for him, and all his male-posterity, he could not part with them, without doing an injury to his son.

The king having ended this affair, thought of finishing the disputes he had with Francis II. duke of Britany. These two princes had lived together in a very strict union whilst both were subjects, a time when princes may still be sensible of friendship; but it seldom happens, that great ones love those they are obliged to obey, or that those who command require more than respect.

Francis succeeding to the duchy of Britany, Lewis, whilst he was dauphin, applied to him in his necessities, and would have borrowed of him four thousand crowns. This the duke refused, and urged his fears of displeasing the king by way of excuse. Lewis was rather more offended with the motive, than with the refusal; but he stifled his resentment, as judging, that when he came to the throne, the duke would respect the regal character in his person, and have for him the same attachment and regard, as he expressed for Charles VII.

In the mean time, when the king was engaged in the wars of Catalonia, and against the English, he received not the least offer of service from the duke of Britany. He had even all the reason in the world to believe, that he had entered into evil designs against him, when the English fleet sailed out of the channel, and advanced towards the coast of Poitou. The shortest way for the king was to pass thro' Britany; but the duke diverted him from it, by spreading a report, that there were several contagious diseases in the places through which he was to pass. The king *learnt afterwards*, that these reports were nothing but *an artifice of the duke*, and that his passage would have

have been opposed by him, if he had persisted in his design of taking that route.

Lewis thought it his duty to give a check to the duke's rashness, and to prevent his being carried away by the advice of his evil counsellors. The duke of Britany in short was a weak prince, timid, incapable of acting or thinking for himself, and yielding to all the impressions that were made upon him; and this readiness to comply with the advice of his council, arose rather from his weakness than the confidence he reposed in them.

The king signified to him, that he was inclined to compose amicably the differences that were betwixt them, and that for this purpose he had nominated the count of Maine, the bishop of Poitiers, John Dauvet premier president of the parliament of Toulouse, and Peter Poignant, counsellor in parliament, to meet at Tours as his commissioners.

The duke on his part nominated the count de Laval, William Chauvin chancellor of Britany, Tanneguy du Chatel, Anthony de Beauveau lord of Pontpean, Loyfel, Feré and Coetlogon.

The principal articles to be discussed were, the homage which the king pretended to be liege, the title of duke *by the grace of God*, and the right of regale. The kings of England had enjoyed the regale in Guienne; and as the duke of Britany pretended, that he owed the king no more than simple homage, he maintained also that he had a right to the regale over the bishopricks of Britany; but this the king claimed as appertaining to his crown. This question, which had before been debated in the preceding reigns, was renewed upon the occasion of the bishoprick of Nantes, to which the court of Rome had nominated d'Avigné. The duke had demanded of the pope the translation of this prelate, and not obtaining it, he drove him from his see, and seized upon his temporalities.

Matters would soon have been decided, if the duke had not continually used delays, during which he sought to bring the pope into the affair. There was even an agent taken up, whom the duke had sent to Rome; and it was found amongst his instructions, that his master was rather determined to give up Britany to the English, than submit to the king.

Lewis thought his pretensions too just, and besides, was too much dissatisfied with the pope, to refer himself to his decision. He had even lately ordered the parliament to oppose his claims in the case of the cardinal of Coutance, who would have got possession of an abbey merely by virtue of the pope's nomination. Pius II. provoked with persecutions, published a bull of excommunication against the parliament, upon which they set the just value, by taking no notice of it.

From the little agreement there was between the king and the pope, 'tis easy to see, that the pope's mediation could be of no great advantage to the duke of Britany. In short, Pius II. having sent John Cezarini, to take cognizance of the differences between the king and the duke, the king charged Langlé, master of the requests, to let him know, that he took it very ill that the pope should intermeddle with this business, without being applied to in it.

The measures, which the king was seen to take against those he had cause to be dissatisfied with, made others to sue for his alliance, or implore his protection. The Switzers sent him a famous embassy. The duke and duchess of Savoy applied to him, to desire his mediation in the disputes between the house of Savoy and the duke of Bourbon, concerning the lands of Bresse and Beaujolois, which were intermixed with each other; though the principal end of their journey was to beg his assistance *against Philip of Savoy, the duke's second son.* Thus



we see at the same time the three princes, who were the greatest lovers of peace, were not able to enjoy it in their own families, but found their most cruel enemies among their own children. Lewis XI. brought his father to the grave by his vexation. The duke of Burgundy was perpetually exposed to the passions of his son. And Philip of Savoy raised an insurrection against his father, and after killing with his own hand John de Varan, master of the household to the duchess his mother, of his own authority caused Valpergue, chancellor of Savoy, to be condemned, and would have put him to death if he had not made his escape. The duke and duchess, not thinking themselves secure, retired to Geneva. Philip pursued them thither, and heaped upon them so many insults, that they were obliged at last to seek for assistance and a sanctuary in France.

Philip of Savoy was supported by Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, for whom the king had a particular regard. His majesty had made an alliance with Sforza, whilst he was dauphin; nor was their friendship broke, till the duke gave assistance to Ferdinand of Arragon against the house of Anjou.

Upon the first complaints which the king received against Philip of Savoy, he formed the scheme of bringing him back to his duty, of depriving him of the support of the duke of Milan, of renewing his own alliance with that duke, of punishing the pride of Geneva, constantly suffering, and constantly rebellious; and at the same time, of getting rid of the wars of Italy, where he had nothing left but the town of Savonna.

The king charged Anthony de Noxe, the pope's minister, with this negotiation. Noxe, who was a man very capable of carrying on an affair, let the duke of Milan know, that his majesty's intentions were to give up to him the town of Savonna, and his pretensions to Genoa, provided that he would  
quit

quit the party of Philip of Savoy, and of Ferdinand of Arragon, and without requiring any thing more in favour of the house of Anjou, than the refusal of a passage and ammunition to his enemies.

The duke of Milan was too sensible of the honour and advantages done him by the king, not to send him an immediate answer. He

*Aug. 23.* dispatched Alberic Malatesta, to make him the warmest acknowledgments, offering withal to give the duke of Orleans 200,000 crowns in gold, by way of recompence for the pretensions he had to the duchy of Milan.

*Dec. 22.* The affair was decided, and the treaty signed. The king gave up the lands and lordships of Genoa and Savonna to Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, for him and his heirs, reserving only the direct domaine, which the king retained over all these fiefs.

The same day the king dispatched an order to the senate of Genoa, requiring them to take an oath to the duke of Milan, letting Fregosa, archbishop of Genoa, the author of all the troubles, who had seized upon the government, know, that in case the Genoese made any difficulty of obeying the duke of Milan, he would compel them to do it with all the forces of his kingdom.

This treaty was communicated to the republick of Venice, to that of Florence, to the duke of Modena, and to the marquis of Montferrat.

The duke of Milan hereupon wrote a letter of thanks to the king, filled with the most extravagant compliments, which interest rather than gratitude dictates to princes. When the duke took possession of Genoa, though his commission expressly declared, that the most christian king gave up to him the town and lordship of Genoa, the Genoese drew up an act in such manner, as though *they had made a voluntary choice of this prince for their*

their lord. They confirmed to him also the assignment of the island of Corsica, which Francis de Borlasco had lately made them, and took an oath to him on the 12th of July, 1465. The duke swore solemnly to preserve the privileges of the Genoese, and refused them none of those formalities, which people are never more eager after, or jealous of, than when they have lost their liberty.

The foreign affairs, wherewith the king was employed, did not make him at all neglect his business at home.

To give a stop to the present, and prevent the future, encroachments of the clergy, he ordered that they should pay their dues, and give in their lists, under the penalty of losing their temporalities.

He nominated commissioners to enquire into the business of the gentry, of frank fiefs, and new acquets. He gave letters of *commottimus* to the university of Paris, and raised another university at Bourges; he confirmed the privileges of the parliament, and to favour trade, established four free fairs at Lyons.

The queen-mother, Mary of Anjou, died this year in Poitou. She was a princess of singular virtue and piety. She passed a part of her life in the practice of devotion, the refuge and consolation of a queen without authority. Superstition sometime led her virtue astray, and made her prefer frivolous trifles to justice. We see by the accounts of her household, that she delayed to pay her officers *for the happy voyage of monsieur S. James in Galicia*; these are the very terms.

The court had frequently been divided between her and Agnes Sorel. Whilst the dissatisfied paid their respects to the queen, the far greater number sought to obtain the favour of the king's mistress.

Lewis seemed always much attached to his mother, by whom he was tenderly beloved. Their aversion  
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to Agnes, united them still more closely, and often brought troubles upon them, which might have been spared, had they paid a due regard to the taste of the king their master.

*The End of the* SECOND BOOK.

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
LEWIS XI.

BOOK III.

1464. **T**HE troubles of Catalonia were revived this year with as great warmth as ever. The Catalonians resolving to chuse a prince for themselves rather than submit to the tyranny of the king of Arragon, invited Don Pedro, the constable of Portugal. This prince

prince was the grandson of John I. king of Portugal. He had been deprived of his possession by the reigning branch ; and as he had only his name left him, and nothing to lose, he was a proper person to try his fortune.

Don Pedro came to Barcelona, took an oath of fidelity to the Catalonians, with the title of king of Arragon and Sicily. He aimed *Jan. 26.* at first, by some glorious action, to justify the choice they had made of him, and gave orders to Don John de Sylva, to lay siege to Gironne ; but before the siege was formed, Sylva was attacked by Rocaberti, his troops defeated, and himself left dead upon the spot.

Don Pedro, with a view to support himself by the favour of Lewis XI. gave him notice of his election, expressed how highly he should think himself honoured with his alliance, and strove to persuade him, that, as the Catalonians had intended to throw their government into the form of a republic, it was the interest of France, that they should have a prince over them, who would be more firmly attached to his majesty, than republicans could be.

Lewis disapproving of the step Don Pedro had taken in placing himself at the head of the Catalonians, sent an herald to complain of it to Alphonso king of Portugal, who made answer, that Don Pedro had acted herein without his consent, or even his knowledge.

Don Pedro, despairing to gain the king's protection, entered the Lampourdon, and sought to raise an insurrection in Rouffillon. The enterprize appeared the more easy, as the inhabitants complained of several grievances, and particularly that the enquiry made after those who had been concerned in the troubles of the province, was contrary to the engagements made to them ; but Lewis sent John de Verger, counsellor of parliament, who by his prudence

dence quieted all their complaints; so that Don Pedro's designs upon Rouffillon came to nothing. One of the agents he had sent to Colinore with seditious letters, was taken and hanged.

The king of Arragon pressed the king to assist him in the reduction of Catalonia, according to the treaty subsisting between them. Lewis apprehending, that if the king of Arragon was quiet on the side of Catalonia, he might disturb him in the affair of Rouffillon; and not caring also to seem openly to go off from his word and not observe the treaty, made some slight diversions, but so weak, that it served only to keep things upon an equality, and consequently to perpetuate the war, which lasted for several years.

As the king had for two months past resided upon the frontiers of Picardy, he read a deputation from the townsmen of Tournay, beseeching him to make his entry into that city. This town, distinguished by a constant fidelity to its king, had refused a retreat to Lewis XI. when he retired from court against his father's inclination, whilst he was dauphin; but to shew, that this was then done only out of a sense of their duty, they lent Lewis 20,000 crowns towards the redemption of the towns upon the Somme.

The king, touched with this generosity, went to Tournay. Their chief magistrate presented him with the keys. His majesty gave them back to him, and said, that he could not entrust the safety of the town better with any others than themselves. It costs princes little to raise the gratitude of the people, which is constantly repayed by fresh instances of service. The inhabitants were so delighted with this testimony of his confidence in them, that they immediately gave up to his majesty his note of 20,000 crowns, and the magnificence of his reception even exceeded the zeal and joy they expressed towards him.

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The king left Tournay to go to Lisle, where he passed some days with the duke of Burgundy, in order to draw him into his interest, that he might afterwards act with the less apprehension against the duke of Britany, whose commissioners were come to Tours, towards the close of the preceding year, to maintain their master's pretensions before the count of Maine. After long disputes on both sides, it was agreed by way of preliminary, that the assembly should be prorogued till the month of September, and be held at Chinon; that, during this interval, both parties should endeavour to recover the instruments they wanted; and that the duke of Britany should declare, that he had not intended to enter into any treaty with the court of Rome, which could be of prejudice to the king's sovereignty. The other articles being to be debated afresh, were not decided.

It is of the more importance to shew what the count of Maine's instructions were, as they were afterwards one of the causes of the war for the publick good. The points in question were, first, the non-compliance of the duke of Britany with the decrees and orders of the king and parliament: secondly, the judgments given in the court of Rome, which the duke had suffered to be executed in Britany; his encroachments upon the regale, and particularly in the affair of the bishoprick of Nantes; his affecting to go contrary to the determination of the Gallican church in the business of the Pragmatick Sanction; his entitling himself, *Duke by the grace of God*, and his using the royal and ducal stile in his letters; the distinction made at Rome between France and Britany; and, lastly, the duke's refusal to pay liege homage; and the causes his subjects carried to Rome to be tried.

Chinon being the place appointed for the conferences, the duke of Britany sent thither as commissioners

missioners Loyfel, Partenay, and Ferré; but as they had no other instructions, than to put off the affair as long as they could, after all they refused to give in any answer, and said they

*Oct.* 31. were recalled. The count of Maine gave a sentence, which provisionally ordered, that the temporalities of the bishoprick of Nantes should be put into the king's hands, with a prohibition to the duke of Britany to claim any right of regale.

This judgment being only by default, the king ordered that the affair should be laid before the parliament, but this removal did not take effect. The duke sent to the king to desire a passport, that he might attend upon him in person, and terminate with him all their differences. The king immediately caused letters to be dispatched, wherein he gave the duke all possible security; but he had no design to make use of the passport; he was upon the point of seeing the effect of his practices, both within and without the kingdom, and sought only to deceive the king, who could not attend solely to the affair of Britany. He kept up a strict correspondence with the earl of Warwick, designing to make peace, or at least to prolong the truce. To shew that he intended to maintain the alliance with England, he seized on the Spanish and Malouin vessels, which were in the ports of France, and obliged their privateers to make good the damage they had done to the English, and the truce was prolonged.

In the mean time, the king received ambassadors from George Pogiebrac, king of Bohemia. They came to renew the alliances which had constantly subsisted between the two crowns. This the king equally desired with him, but was kept from it through fear of the scruples which weak *minds* might raise, or the disaffected might pretend



to have, upon the account of Pogiebrac's being excommunicated by Pius II.

We have seen, that Pogiebrac caused himself to be elected king of Bohemia after the death of Ladislaus. Though the catholicks did not approve of his election, they did not openly oppose it. He was crowned by the bishops on the 6th of May 1458, and had sworn before his coronation, to employ his whole power in the defence of the church, and the extirpation of heresy. The pope supposed, that by this oath Pogiebrac had engaged to abolish the use of the cup in the communion; but this prince declaring, that it was a custom authorized by the council of Basil, in which he gave out he would live and die, the pope excommunicated him as an heretick relapsed.

To understand this point the better, we must call to mind, that whilst the council of Constance was employed in the trial of John Hufs, and Jerom of Prague, Jacobel one of their disciples maintained at Prague, that we ought to communicate under both kinds. All the Huffites embraced this opinion, which became one of the principal articles of their Schism. The council of Constance condemned them as hereticks; but the council of Basil, being willing to bring back the Bohemians, declared, that the heresy did not lie in the communion under both kinds, but in believing there was no true communion, unless both kinds were received; so that the question now turned wholly upon the church's power in with-drawing the cup.

The council of Basil, which was sincerely desirous of restoring peace to the church, thought it their duty to give the greater indulgence, as the pontifs, by listening only to their own haughty disposition, pretended to defend the church by  
cutting

cutting off its members. The council dispatched Philbert bishop of Constance to reconcile Bohemia to the catholick church, and appease the troubles which had caused so large an effusion of human blood. Philbert therefore published a declaration in the name of the council, that all who were accustomed to communicate under both kinds, might still continue so to do, provided they did not look upon this ceremony as necessary to the sacrament.

The greater part of the Bohemians continued to communicate under both kinds, and were called Utraquists or Calixtins. They were afterwards distinguished into rigid Calixtins, who looked upon the use of the cup as necessary to salvation; and moderate Calixtins, who keeping the cup themselves, left to others the liberty of doing otherwise, if they pleased.

Pogiebrac was of the moderate party, and urged the decision of the council of Basil, to shew, that he had not incurred excommunication, and that he appealed from this sentence to a future council.

Pius II. was still less offended with what he called heresy in Pogiebrac, than with his appeal, and seeing him urge the authority of the council of Basil. Besides, in the council of Mantua, which Pius II. had held upon his accession to the pontificate, he had by an express canon pronounced an anathema against all such as should presume to appeal from his decisions to a future council; and thus he looked upon Pogiebrac's appeal as a second heresy, and again fulminated a fresh anathema.

It was under these circumstances, that the ambassadors from the king of Bohemia came into France. Lewis XI. renewed the antient alliances with

with this prince, whom he called most illustrious and catholic; but he declared before a notary, in the presence of several bishops, and of admiral Montauban, that he did not intend by the treaty made with George king of Bohemia, to adhere to the heresies, with which Bohemia was said to be infected.

We see by this, that Lewis was very careful not to offend the pope, and yet they never very well agreed. Lewis was too jealous of the rights of his crown, not to oppose the enterprizes of Pius II. and the haughty pontif, less pleased with the king's favours, than offended with the least refusal, could not endure any contradiction. Pius had desired nothing more eagerly, than to engage the princes of Christendom in a crusade, and to revive a folly useless to religion, scandalously immoral, and fatal to the Christians. Every body knows the unhappy consequences of the crusades of Lewis the young, S. Lewis, and Philip Augustus, which must have succeeded, if valour and virtue had been sufficient to have commanded success in an attempt of this nature; and yet the pope was no less ardent in soliciting all christian princes to take upon them the cross. He also wrote, as they say, to Mahomet II. to persuade him to become a christian. It is easy to judge how the pope's proposition was received by a prince, who in reality was indifferent about all religions; but who knew of what importance it was to himself to seem to be a zealous Musulman, in order to gain the hearts of his troops, and inflame their courage.

The pope was not more successful in his solicitations of the emperor and the king, who refused to take the cross. He pressed the duke of Burgundy more warmly, and would persuade him, that he owed his recovery from a dangerous illness, to a vow he had made of taking the cross. The duke might have judged himself free from the obligation of

keeping so imprudent a vow, if the strength of mind, required for this freedom, had been consistent with the weakness, which first induced him to make it. The king went expressly to visit him at Hesdin, to lay before him the ill consequences which might arise from his absence in his dominions. He represented to him, that such enterprizes suited better with an adventurer than a prince, and that his presence in Burgundy was necessary to keep within due bounds the ambitious disposition of the count de Charolois.

The duke was fully satisfied of the truth of all these arguments; but was so importuned and teased by the pope, that at last he engaged to follow him, provided he would put himself at the head of the crusade. The pope consented to it, and dispersed bulls in every quarter, importing, that he was going in person to fight against the Turk, and intended to embark at Ancona. Immediately a prodigious troop of crusaders was seen to flock together from all nations, of that sort of restless people, who are ready to engage in all adventures, from their being easy under no situation. They imagined, that without taking any the least care, a plenteous supply of what they should want would be an easy miracle to the sovereign pontif; but being soon reduced to an absolute scarcity of provisions, they over-ran the country and pillaged it. The highways were filled with nothing else but robbers, who had taken up arms in defence of the faith.

The complaints of their misbehaviour were carried to Rome. The pope was grievously afflicted, and called together the cardinals. He told them, that the luxury and immoralities of Rome threw a suspicion upon all their actions, and kept the blessings of heaven at a distance. He besought them to  
render

render God propitious by their prayers, and to edify the faithful by their conduct. *Aug. 14.* He then set out for Ancona; but when he saw with his own eyes, that the disorders and irregularities complained of even exceeded the reports which had been of them, his grief, fatigue, and indignation made such an impression upon him, that he could not survive it. Peter Barbo, a Venetian, and nephew to Eugenius IV. succeeded him in the pontificate, and took the name of Paul II.

The king found himself more at ease on the part of the court of Rome, when he received information, that an attack was made upon his honour, and that he was accused of a design to assassinate the duke of Burgundy and the count of Charolois. He easily discerned, that the duke of Britany was the author of these calumnies. This prince, to render the king odious to the French, had the presumption to charge him with an intention to give up Guyenne and Normandy into the hands of the English. To put a stop to these reports, the king contented himself with sending copies of the duke's own letters into all the provinces.

Some time after, the king was informed, that the duke, in order to keep up a more secure and secret correspondence with the English, and the count of Charolois, had sent John de Romillé, the vice-chancellor of Britany, into England and Holland, disguised like a Dominican, and that he was actually attending upon the count of Charolois.

The king hereupon went himself to Hesdin, to the duke of Burgundy, to complain of the count of Charolois. The duke would have excused his son, and persuaded the king to lay aside his suspicions; but Lewis shewed him, that James of Luxembourg, the governor of Rennes, was at that time actually resident with the count of Charolois, on the part of duke Francis, and that Anthony de Lamet, the

lieutenant of James of Luxembourg, was continuing from Britany into Holland, and from land into Britany.

His majesty being desirous to convince the and all Europe of the intrigues of the count of rolois with the duke of Britany, resolved to off Romillé, and gave a commission to this p to the bastard of Rubempré, a bold, enterprising man, and very fit for the execution of any attempt.

Rubempré embarked on board a small vessel five and twenty attendants, passed into He and leaving the rest of his men on the coast, to Gorkum with two of his company. There he took to conceal himself making him suspicious he was taken into custody. Olivier de la Marche author of the memoirs, went straight to the duke of Burgundy, and let him know, that Rubempré come either to carry off, or to kill, the count Charolois; and farther added, to intimidate the duke, and raise his indignation against the that his majesty had learnt from the stars, that the duke was in a short time to die at Hesdin, and his visit in that neighbourhood was made in view to seize upon the place, and the treasure was kept in it.

The king, who was returned to Abbeville presently informed of the alarms they had given the duke of Burgundy, and wrote to him immed

raged at it, and demanded justice. With this view he sent the count d'Eu, a prince of the blood, the archbishop of Narbonne, and the chancellor de Morvilliers to Lisse, as ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy.

The day after their arrival they had audience. Morvilliers speaking with the resolution and boldness which became his character, and the majesty of the first prince in Europe, said, that the duke of Britany was guilty of felony, as a vassal of the crown, for having entered into a treaty with England, without the knowledge of the king his sovereign lord; that by this treaty, which tended to the ruin of the kingdom, he was become guilty of high-treason; and that the count of Charolois by having entered into the practices of the duke of Britany, was become his accomplice; that the king, in order to obtain convincing proofs of their intrigues, had intended to carry off Romillé, who was the agent in them; that he had given the bastard of Rubempré a commission to this purpose; that the count de Charolois had caused him to be taken into custody; that he would now have it believed, that Rubempré was charged with a design upon his person; and that this calumny was employed as a screen to cover the several conspiracies, which the duke of Britany and the count of Charolois had carried on against the king.

It needs no more, added Morvilliers, presenting the minute of Rubempré's instructions, than to read this commission, to be convinced of the calumny; but is it possible besides to suppose, that Rubempré would have attempted so extravagant an enterprize, as that of carrying off the count of Charolois in the midst of his own court. Rubempré at the time of his first landing, had never more than five and twenty attendants, whom he left twenty leagues from Gorkum, whither he was come with two men

only. No one without absurdity could give credence to such visions, nor spread them abroad without wilful blindness. Notwithstanding, they had not been ashamed to publish them from the chair of truth. Olivier de la Marche had presumed to talk publickly in the same manner, and some of his hearers, misled by his audaciousness, had been so rash as to attack the honour of the king, and blacken his reputation.

Morvilliers concluded, with demanding them to begin the reparation that was due to the king, by giving up into his hands Olivier de la Marche, and the audacious monk, who had been so insolent to support these impostures. He also complained of the distrust the duke had shewn in leaving Hesdin with so much precipitation.

The count of Charolois, who heard the chancellor very impatiently, would several times have spoke; but Morvilliers, without leaving off, told him, it was not to him, that he was sent by the king, and the duke imposed silence upon his son.

When the chancellor had done, the count de Charolois threw himself upon his knees before his father, and desired his leave to justify himself. The duke, who knew the fiery disposition of his son, was afraid lest in the first heat of his passion he should let fall some expressions that might be injurious to the king; for which reason he told him, he should be heard the next day; he bad him reflect upon the answer he designed to give, and be particularly careful to let nothing drop, that should not suit well with his own birth, and the majesty of the king.

The duke then replied to the ambassadors, that the bastard of Rubempré had given cause of suspicion enough for them to secure his person; that no *discourse* had been held by them to the king's prejudice; and that if la Marche had been so imprudent



as to do it, he should be called to account for it; that the cognizance of that affair belonged to the magistrates of Burgundy, for la Marche being born within the county of Burgundy, was neither the king's subject, nor under his jurisdiction; that if the count of Charolois had shewn too much distrust, it might be excusable upon this occasion. *For my part, (added the duke) I have never given way to suspicions, nor am I apt to fall into them upon slight grounds; possibly I may have broke my engagement with the women, but never with men.*

The next day the ambassadors had a second audience. The count of Charolois, kneeling upon a cushion, spoke with great moderation. He said, that there was a strict friendship betwixt the duke of Britany and himself; but that no treaty had been made between them contrary to the king's interest; that Rubempré was an enterprizing man, and capable of any attempt; that from his reputation, and the care he used to conceal himself, his being taken into custody became unavoidable; that if Olivier de la Marche had expressed himself with too much warmth, his zeal for his master might easily excuse it; that he had very different complaints to make against the king, who had lately given the government of Picardy to the count of Estempes, with a promise to assist him with four hundred lances, in the conquest of Brabant; and that as to the pension and government of Normandy, which the king had taken from him, the loss did not affect him, since he should always be powerful enough, whilst he preserved his father's friendship.

Le Goux spoke after the count of Charolois, repeated all that he had said, insisted upon every article, and was particularly large upon the obligations, which the king owed to the house of Burgundy.

Morvilliers instantly replied, that the king had not forgot the services he had received from the

duke; that he was continually speaking of them, and had shewn his gratitude, not only by the honours he had paid him, but also by a grant of the duchy of Luxembourg.

The ambassadors insisted upon the delivery of Rubempré, but the duke required further time. The matter was never after resumed, the king seemed quite to have forgot him, nor was he set at liberty by the count of Charolois till five years after, and then without any farther examination than had already been made; so that we may judge his confinement was owing to very slight reasons.

When the ambassadors took leave of the duke of Burgundy, the count of Charolois coming up to the archbishop of Narbonne, whispers in his ear, *Pray make my compliments to the king, and tell him, that he has reprimanded me pretty sharply by his chantellor; but that he shall repent of it, before the year's out.*

Foreign affairs did not hinder the king from looking narrowly into business at home, and settling the administration. He, this year, restored the court of aids at Paris, which he had suppressed upon his accession to the throne. He put the discipline of the army upon so good a footing, that most of the regulations he then made subsist at present. We find, that he then maintained 1700 lances; every lance, or man of arms in full pay had fifteen livres a month, and every archer seven livres ten sols; the lower pay was one third less than the former.

The king being desirous absolutely to put an end to the differences subsisting between him  
*Decemb.* and the duke of Britany, assembled at Tours the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry, Orleans, Bourbon, and Nemours, the counts of Angoulême, and Nevers, and the chief lords of the realm, and appealed to their arbitration. That he might give them the liberty of speaking their sentiments

sentiments with freedom, he absented himself for the first session; but the chancellor laid open the point in question, with the methods taken by both parties, and John Dauvet, who had before been a commissioner in the affair, discussed it, with so much clearness, that the princes acknowledged, that though they had been very much prejudiced against the king, they could not but agree, that the duke of Britany was in the wrong.

The king was present at the second session. The chancellor opened it, by repeating before him what had passed in the former, and particularly what concerned the regale, and the treaty which the duke had made with England. The king then spoke, and reminded them of the persecutions he had passed through in the preceding reign, of the unhappy state wherein he found the kingdom upon his accession to the throne, and of all that he had done towards restoring it to its ancient glory. He acknowledged, that he owed these happy beginnings to the princes, the nobility, and the assistance of his people; that he felt the whole weight of a crown; that no one man's shoulders was able to support so heavy a burden; but he hoped, to find always the same affection, and consequently the same assistances, from his subjects; he knew that kings and people were united by reciprocal ties of duty on both sides, and that the strength and harmony of a state depended upon the union of the head and the members. Lewis laid down all these incontestible maxims, which are seldom violated but by princes, who are not well acquainted with their true interest, their authority, and their glory. He then passed to the subject of his complaints against the duke of Britany, which we have already mentioned. He added, that the duke would not have swerved from his duty, but by the advice of evil counsellors, and that it was with concern he found himself obliged to have recourse to

authority to reduce a prince weak in his designs, and rash in his undertakings.

The whole assembly was extremely affected with the king's discourse, and shewed their acknowledgements by a general acclamation. The king of Sicily then rose up, and in the name of all there present, expressed to his majesty the sense they had of the confidence he had so lately placed in them; he assured him, that they were all ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in his service, and in their endeavours to bring back the duke of Britany to his duty.

The king thanked them for their good will, and told them, it would be a pleasure to him, if they would singly signify to the duke, that they disapproved of his conduct.

Charles, duke of Orleans, not perceiving that the king, by seeming to ask their advice, sought only for an approbation of his own sentiments, attempted to offer something in justification of the duke of Britany, from the abuses which prevailed in the government. The king was extremely offended with the duke of Orleans's remonstrances, but dissembling the true motives of his indignation, he severely rebuked him under the colour of his taking part with a rebel. Kings have the privilege of making their words alone supply the place of rewards or punishments. The duke of Orleans was so deeply affected with the king's cruel usage, that he died within a few days after. He had been taken prisoner in the battle of Agincourt, and lay confined for five and twenty years. The duke of Burgundy assisted him in the recovery of his liberty, and married him to his niece Mary, the daughter of Adolphus, duke of Cleves. Charles giving himself up to reading and reflection during his captivity, and instructed by misfortunes and study, became one of the most virtuous princes that France ever had, and was generally lamented. He left behind him three children,

dren, one son, which was Lewis XII. and two daughters, whereof one was abesse of Fontevraud, and the other was married to John de Foix, viscount of Narbonne.

In the mean time, the king dispatched Fournier and Paris, counsellors of parliament, into Britany, to give notice to the duke, and to execute the sentence passed at Chinon by the count of Maine; but being refused admittance into Nantes, they returned, after having made their verbal report.

The king, who thought himself secure of reducing the duke of Britany by force, was minded to make use of all the methods, which might serve to render him less excusable. He sent Pont-Labbé into Britany, with orders to tell the duke, that his majesty was much displeas'd with the calumnies he had presum'd to spread abroad to his prejudice; that he was dissatisfi'd with his intrigues with the English; with his calling him king Lewis when he spoke of him; and that a natural son of Britany was actually employed in the service of England. *If these things, said Pont-Labbé to him, have been done of your own head, you ought to satisfy the king by your submission; if you have followed the advice of others, you ought to give up those who have given it; if you have a design to call the English into Britany to contend with the king, consider that your dominions will become the theatre of a bloody war, which you may avoid, by discharging your duty to your sovereign.*

The duke in return represented to the king, that he had never had any ill intentions in all that he had done; that he had been oblig'd to negotiate with Edward, as he had been well inform'd that the king himself had enter'd into a treaty with that prince, to the prejudice of Britany, and of all the princes of the blood; that he should not have taken these precautions, had he been comprehended in the treaty which his majesty had con-  
cluded

cluded with England; that the commission given to Romillé to go *incognito* into England, instead of proving his engagements with Edward, on the other hand, was a circumstance in his justification, and there could be no other reason for this privacy, but because he was unacquainted with the dispositions of the English, and was willing that Romillé should be able to discover them thoroughly before he made himself known; that Romillé had given an account of his negotiation in an assembly of the states, and that it was not possible to find any thing in his report, which was contrary to the king's interest; that there was great reason to believe, his majesty had himself entered into a league with Edward against Britany, as the English had taken several prizes from the Britons, which had been sold in the ports of France, whereas the Britons were obliged to restore whatever prizes they had taken from the English. It was true, indeed, that in writing to the king of England, the duke of Britany had treated him as his sovereign lord, and had named his majesty king Lewis; but they could not be ignorant, that this was merely a matter of form to comply with the stile of England, and that in reality he had concluded nothing, that was either prejudicial to the interest of the state, or the honour of his majesty.

As the duke of Britany's answer was no less a manifesto than an apology, the king was determined to declare war against him. And the duke on his side, took all proper measures to secure himself from the effects of the king's resentment. He

*Dec. 31.* made a treaty with the duke of Calabria, by which they declared, that they had mutually signed an agreement, to join and oppose the king's council, which daily engaged him to misbehave towards the princes of the blood; they *admitted the count of Charolois into their alliance,*

and

and swore to assist each other mutually against all persons whatsoever, except the king of Sicily.

The duke of Calabria could not indeed openly or honourably enter into an accommodation with Edward, who had dethroned his brother-in-law Henry VI. He seemed only to contract with the count of Charolois. But this was the same thing in the main, as Edward had agreed to supply the count with all necessary succours, in consideration of the part he had lately acted in the affair of his marriage with Elizabeth Rivers.

At the time they laboured to convert the truce, concluded between France and England, into a solid peace, whereof the marriage of Edward with Bonne of Savoy was to be the foundation, this prince fell passionately in love with Elizabeth Rivers, the daughter of Richard Woodville and Jacqueline of Luxembourg, and widow of John Gray. Edward preferring this widow to the princess of Savoy, to the great dissatisfaction of the nation, had besought the count of Charolois to grace his nuptials with an embassy, who immediately dispatched James of Luxembourg, the uncle of Elizabeth, with three hundred of the richest and most considerable gentlemen in Burgundy. This splendid embassy, as it advanced the birth of Elizabeth, was very grateful to the English, and pleased Edward so much, that he assured the count of Charolois, he might depend upon the troops of England.

As the count was persuaded, that the Croys perpetually diverted the duke his father from entering into a league against the king, he complained in all his letters, that they usurped the authority, that they sought to make differences betwixt him and his father, and that they had made him lose the king's friendship, which he affected to seem fond of; but in reality he hated the Croys, only because they were firm to the king, and his  
sole

sole reason for endeavouring to drive them from court was, that he might the more easily engage the duke his father to declare war against France.

In the mean time, the duke of Britany took all possible pains to encrease the number of malecontents throughout the kingdom. Whether it was, that the king's pretensions were carried too high, or that the duke refused to comply with what he really owed to his sovereign, most certain it is, that their quarrels were the original of the greatest event that happened in the reign of Lewis XI. I mean the war for the publick good; and the right knowledge of the principle from whence it sprang, is a matter of the highest importance.

The duke of Britany was sensible that he had not strength enough to contend singly with the king's forces, and that he should have but little advantage from his alliance with the count of Charolois, unless the duke of Burgundy should supply him with troops; for which reason he endeavoured to draw over the princes of the blood, with the other lords of the kingdom, who having lands and vassals might be able to furnish real succours. He attempted to persuade them, that the king's design was to enslave the princes, to debase the nobility, and ruin all those, who by their birth, title, and good intentions were capable of opposing the arbitrary power he intended to establish; that they began with the duke of Britany, but that all who had any authority were equally concerned to provide for their own safety; or that, otherwise, they would soon fall into Slavery.

These discourses made an impression upon several of them, who had, besides, their own private inducements.

The duke of Bourbon, having married the sister of Lewis XI. expected that, in consideration of this



this marriage, he should have had the constable's sword; but as the king thought him already too powerful, instead of offering it to him, it was refused him. An ambitious man apprehends he gains an accession of right, by every favour he obtains; and the duke of Bourbon was more chagrined with this refusal, than sensible of the honour done him in his marriage with a daughter of France. From that moment he determined to join with the king's enemies. He entered into the league with the duke of Britany, and resolved to draw in the duke of Burgundy. This was a nice point to manage, as the duke was old, and always inclined to peace. Tho' he complained sometimes of the breaches the king made of the treaty of Arras, himself was resolved to observe it, and made little difference between an unjust war, and a war that was engaged in upon too slight grounds. The duke of Bourbon made an advantage of the ascendant he had over his mind, to persuade him, that the king intended to oppress all the princes; that the count of Charolois himself would not be secure from his designs, and would lose his patrimonial succession, unless they actually opposed the king's measures, by making a league in favour of the publick good. These reasons, however, did not as yet appear to Philip sufficient motives for a breach with the king; but whilst they were thus solliciting the duke of Burgundy, they laboured to draw off the king's brother, the duke of Berry, by promising to give him the only daughter of the count of Charolois in marriage.

Charles duke of Berry had all the external advantages, which strike the eyes of the people, affect their imaginations, and at the same time, as they add a lustre to great endowments, do never supply the want of them; without any extraordinary merit from his virtues, or being formidable by his vices,

vices, he was dangerous thro' his weakness. The malecontents made an ill use of it to draw him into a revolt, and he the more readily gave way to their insinuations, as he had already conceived that jealousy against his brother, which little minds are so apt to entertain against those, who out-shine them. Incapable of acting by himself, he became a tool in the hands of the rebels, who made a name that was useless to him that bore it, subservient to their own ambition. Tho' the king had not been naturally distrustful and jealous of his authority, prudence would have prevented his placing any confidence in his brother, whose instability, weakness, and want of capacity, he was thoroughly acquainted with.

In the mean time, the duke of Britany, who was under a perpetual apprehension, that the king would at last oblige him to comply with the sentence given at Tours, desired his majesty would give him leave to call together an assembly of his states, that the execution of the said sentence might be approved by them, and receive a greater degree of authority from their approbation.

As the duke's design was only to gain time, when the adjournment he had required was expired, he sent Odet Daidie, lord of Lescun, to desire a longer term.

The king consented to an adjournment of three months longer, but trusting constantly as much to his policy as his arms, he sought to gain over the ambassador by presents; and to secure himself of all those who governed the duke, he gave a pension to Antoinette de Maignelais his mistress. Lescun, instead of suffering himself to be corrupted, compleatly drew over the duke of Berry, and fixed him in the resolution of retiring into Britany. This scheme was not easily to be put into execution, as the steps of this young prince were very narrowly watched; but the king himself, thro' his own distrust, furnished  
his

his brother with a proper opportunity of getting away from court.

As soon as Lewis had dismissed Lescun, he marched into Poitou, under the pretence of a pilgrimage; but in reality, that he might be near Britany, and of consequence sooner able to enter into it, in case the duke refused to keep his word. The duke of Berry, who was obliged to follow the king wherever he went, agreed with Lescun to wait for him within a few leagues of Poitiers, and keeping to his agreement, under pretence of a hunting-match, he went off with him, and got into Britany, before the king was in a condition to hinder his flight.

The duke of Berry immediately published a manifesto, in which he assumed the tone of a prince entrusted with the fate of all the orders of the state, tho' in fact he was no more than a tool in the hands of the malecontents. *March.*

The retreat of this prince was the signal which brought on the storm, that had so long been gathering. The malecontents openly declared themselves under the name of the *league for the publick good*, which is always their pretext, and seldom their motive. 'Tis said, that the decisive meeting was held in the church of Nôtre Dame at Paris, and that there were present above five hundred persons, who made themselves known to each other by wearing a silken point in their sashes.

The king, who thought he could easily overpower the duke of Britany, of a sudden found himself obliged to provide for his own defence. He was reduced to despair, when he learnt that his brother was fled, and had put himself at the head of the league, supported by the dukes of Calabria, Bourbon and Britany, and even favoured by the duke of Burgundy. He knew of what consequence great names were to a party, especially where those who ought to be the support of a government, take up  
arms

arms againg it. Amongst the malecontents the counts of Dunois and Dammartin, and made Loheac. The duke of Nemours, the count Armagnac, and the lord d'Albret were ready to them; so that the war was breaking out in all of the kingdom. The king of Sicily, the count Maine, Nevers, Vendôme and Eu, continued to the king. His majesty, however, was not this account the more easy; he dreaded his ene and suspected his friends. He sent ambassade every quarter, with different instructions, according to the disposition or interest of those, with whom they were to treat.

The duke of Bourbon answered, that the people could no longer bear with the male-administrators of the kingdom, and were therefore resolved to provide a remedy against it.

The king of Sicily attempted in vain to find the duke of Berry, and bring him back to his duty succeeded no better with his own son the duke of Calabria.

The king, in answer to the duke of Berry's request, urged, that it was strange, as he had been suspected of cruelty, that he should be charged with being guilty of it towards his own brother who was the presumptive heir of the crown, notwithstanding had no right to look upon the succession as certain, since the queen was at that time young, and actually with child; that the administration could not justly be found fault with, as a kingdom had never been in a more flourishing condition; and that under the colour of some ambition of the princes, and their adherents, instead of being united with humble remonstrances, had broken into hostilities unworthy of their birth, and cruelly treated the king's subjects, contrary to the law of nations, who had no other crimes than their perseverance in their loyalty; that they did not

to come to particulars; that the duke of Berry himself made only general complaints; and that as soon as he should point out those who had misbehaved towards him, they should receive an exemplary punishment; that his majesty's views in keeping his brother near his person, were his care and watchfulness over his preservation and instruction, according to his own desire; that they were only young men without experience, who had entered into the league, and who pretended to have it believed, that they had the good of the people at heart, at the same time as they visibly oppressed their vassals, ravaged the kingdom, and carried desolation into all the provinces.

This manifesto, which was drawn up in full council, prevented the insurrection in Auvergne, which was upon the point of rising. The town of Bourdeaux sent deputies to the king to assure him of their fidelity, but at the same time they spoke in favour of the duke of Berry, and urged, that as his appenage was not sufficient, it would be right to have some consideration of that affair. Dauphiné, the Lyonnais, Normandy, and in general all the provinces, which were not dependent upon the princes of the league, gave his majesty all possible proofs of an inviolable attachment to his person.

In the mean time, the whole country was every where in arms, without knowing well the motives of the league, or any other apparent cause, than much ambition among the great men, uneasiness among the people, animosity in the count of Charolois, and weakness in the duke of Berry.

The count of Armagnac seemed still undetermined. The princes of the league reported, that he was entered into their party; and the king giving notice to him of the duke of Berry's escape, the count answered only by general protestations of loyalty, such as are usually made when a person studiously  
avoids

avoids to engage on any side; and tho' wrote to again, he declined giving a more positive answer.

The king sent Thibault de Luxembourg bishop of Mans, and brother to the Count de S. Pol, to negotiate an accommodation with the duke of Burgundy; but the count of Charolois had absolutely disposed his father to favour the war; and to remove the few remaining scruples, which the duke might have, they had prevailed upon him to give up the administration of affairs to his son. *April 21.*

The king finding that the abolition of the Pragmatick Sanction, and the practices of the court of Rome following upon it, were one of the pretended grievances urged by the princes of the league, he sent Peter Gruel, the premier president of Dauphiné, to engage the pope to put a stop to the complaints, by using a little more caution in these practices for the future. He was farther charged to procure the recalling of Alain d'Albret, legate of Avignon, who kept up the fire of rebellion in France. And lastly, he was to solicit the revival of the antient bulls of excommunication against such subjects as take up arms against their Prince.

Gruel supposing, that in having a good cause to defend, he had a right to speak with resolution, did no more than disoblige the pope. He was recalled, and his conduct disapproved, and other ambassadors were sent, who with more moderation obtained no greater advantage. As the court of Rome had nothing more to expect from the king, they did not trouble themselves about any returns of gratitude for services that were past.

Lewis sent ambassadors to different princes, from whom he hoped to obtain succours, or at least to divert them from joining in the league. He renewed the truce with England, which gave him the greatest uneasiness; but did not so far rely upon negotiations,

gotiations, as to neglect the putting himself into a proper state of opposing the enemy with his arms. The frontiers of Picardy he committed to the care of the counts of Eu and Nevers; those of Britany he entrusted to the count of Maine, and Champagne to Torcy. And having thus made all due provisions, he marched into Berry, at the head of an army, consisting of about fourteen thousand regular and well-disciplined men. Neither the tradesman, nor the labourer, fled before the soldier, who was formidable only to the enemy.

The rebels having made themselves masters of Bourges, Lewis did not judge it convenient to open the campaign with a siege, which might be drawn out into length. He knew very well how much the courage of the troops depended upon an early success. He began with attacking S. Amand, Montrond, and Monluyon; most of the places were carried by assault, and the king gave every where great marks of valour and clemency. The country of Combrailles, the greater part of the Bourbonnois, Auvergne and Berry, returned to their obedience; so that Bourges was blocked up on every side. The princes of the league were soon thrown into consternation, and they waited only for the coming up of the duke of Nemours to reduce them entirely under subjection, who was expected with three hundred lances; but the duke, instead of attending upon the king, sent to require of him proper securities. When a person uses so much precaution before he discharges his duty, he is near upon the point of going off from it. In short, after several negotiations, the duke of Nemours went over to the rebels. I even find in the Memoirs of those times, that Nemours was seeking to draw matters out into length, because he was then actually negotiating a conspiracy with Lewis of Harcourt, called the bastard of Aumale, bishop of Bayeux and patriarch of Jerusalem, which tended to

set fire to the magazines at S. Pourçain, to seize upon the King, and even to make an attempt upon his life.

In the mean time, news was brought, that the count of Armagnac had joined the princes of the league with six thousand men; and on the other side, it was known, that the duke of Bourbon and Nemours, with the lords of Beaujeu and Albret were entered into Riom. Thither therefore the king immediately directed his march, with a view, either to besiege them, or give them battle.

His majesty's diligence and resolution so surprized the lords that were in Riom, that the duke of Bourbon retired to Moulins; and the duke of Nemours waited upon the king, to propose an accommodation, as well for himself, as for the duke of Bourbon, the count of Armagnac, and the lord of Albret. Lewis, who preferred negotiation to war, gave him a favourable reception; a truce was agreed upon, during which the rebels should be sollicitated to return to their duty, or otherwise the four lords would declare against them. We shall soon see, that they broke their word, and again entered into the league. Lewis resolved to treat with Nemours upon the news, that the dukes of Berry and Britany were marching up the Loire with a numerous army; that the count of Charolois was advancing on the other side, at the head of twenty-six thousand men, and that these princes were to join before Paris. Lewis first provided for the security of Auvergne, and left four hundred lances in Languedoc to prevent the four lords from breaking the treaty they had agreed to. Dauphiné he committed to the care of prince Galeas, the son of the duke of Milan, who was arrived with a thousand lances and two hundred archers, and he accepted of the succours of the count of Bologna, who had marched to his assistance at the head of three hundred lances.

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The king gave such good orders in all places, that he defeated the machinations of the count de S. Pol, who endeavoured to corrupt the towns upon the Somme. They continued loyal, and the most part of them, such as Amiens, Abbeville, Peronne, Picquigni, and Tournay, fortified themselves at their own expence.

When the count of Charolois took  
*June 15.* leave of his father, *Remember* (says the duke to him) *the blood from whence you spring, and always prefer a glorious death to a shameful flight. If you are in danger, I will march to your deliverance at the head of a hundred thousand men.* This lesson was but too needless to a prince, whose courage was a kind of madness, an hero born to raise the admiration, and create the misery of mankind.

The count passed the Somme at Bray, which opened its gates to him. Roye and Mondidier did the same; but the lord of Nessel made a glorious defence, and did not surrender till reduced to the last extremity, upon honourable conditions. The count of Charolois broke the capitulation, treated him with severity, and kept him prisoner, pretending that he was his subject. The king suffered farther a considerable loss by the treachery of one Madre, or Meiadec, who gave up Pont-Sainte-Maxence; by

*July.* which means the Burgundians got admittance into the isle of France. On the other side, the dukes of Berry and Brabant took the field, and were passing through Anjou. The former wrote to the count of Vendôme to draw over to his party; but the count made answer, that though he had no reason to be pleased with the king, he would notwithstanding never swerve from the duty he owed him, and that he chose rather to forget the ill treatment he had met with, than to deserve it.

In the mean time, the king made long marches

to prevent the conjunction of the Burgundians and the Britons.

The count of Charolois was already before Paris, and impatient at not seeing the Britons come up, he was several times upon the point of returning back again; but Romillé, the vice-chancellor of Britany, perpetually amused him, by shewing him letters from time to time, which himself wrote upon the blank papers, signed with the duke's sign manual, which he had by him; and by which the duke of Britany made excuses for his delays, and promised to join him incessantly. The count, who was eager to engage, having ventured to give two assaults in one day, was repulsed with a considerable loss. There were in Paris two and thirty thousand fighting men, besides the soldiers, which mareschal Rouault had thrown into the town. The count of Charolois, intending to make another attempt, sent four heralds to demand a passage through Paris, with provisions for his army. Whilst these heralds drew the attention of the citizens towards the gate of S. Denis, the Burgundians got possession of the suburbs of S. Lazare, marched quite up to the barriers, and were upon the point of forcing their way into the town, when the alarm was given. Immediately the citizens ran to their arms, filled the walls, and repulsed the besiegers with all imaginable courage. At the same time, mareschal Rouault made a sally at the head of sixty lances, and fourscore archers, with which he charged the enemy so briskly, that he obliged them to retire to S. Denis.

This vigorous resistance of the Parisians, extremely surprized the count of Charolois, who instead of supposing so much courage in the citizens, had imagined that by publishing an abolition of the taxes and customs, all the towns would have opened their gates to him. These discourses, which are so common amongst malecontents, produced not the  
least

least effect. The king, who was only hated by the great men, because he laid a restraint upon their ambition, was beloved by the people. Besides, it was easily seen, that all the discontented lords, who cloaked their actions with a supposed zeal for the publick good, never proposed any accommodation, which did not lay burthenfome pensions upon the people, whom they pretended to relieve.

The count of Charolois having received a letter from the duchess of Orleans, which advised him of the king's march, at the same time intercepted several others, wherein the king thanked the Parisians for their loyal adherence to him, and assured them, that within a few days he should be before the gates of Paris, at the head of a powerful army. Upon this advice, the count set out in haste, encamped at Lonjumeau, and dispatched S. Pol with his van-guard, into the neighbourhood of Montlheri, after having marked out the field of battle in a plain between the two camps.

The armies drawing constantly nearer to each other, the king advised with his council, whether he should march against the Britons, or fall upon the count of Charolois. Brézé, grand seneschal of Normandy, was of opinion, that they should turn the first fire of the French, which was always terrible, against the Britons, who were the more experienced soldiers, and whose defeat would necessarily draw after it that of the Burgundians. The king was of a different sentiment, and possibly from the particular hatred he bore to the count of Charolois. Olivier de la Marche pretends, that the reason why it was determined to fall first upon the Burgundians was, *because the antient hatred between the French and the Burgundians was greater than between the French and the Britons.* The king besides had entertained some suspicion of Brézé, and was apprehensive, that by following his advice he might favour

the measures he had entered into, in case of an intelligence between him and the leaguers.

The king arriving in good time at Etrechy, halted there; in the evening he set forward, came in the night-time to Chartres, and, without resting, marched directly to Montlheri. And being now no longer able to conceal the suspicions he had contracted against Brézé, he asked him if he had not given his *seing* (or *sign manual*) to the leaguers; *Yes, Sir,* answered Brézé smiling, *but I have reserved my body for you,* equivocating between the words *sein* and *seing*. The king seemed satisfied with this answer, and gave him the van-guard, advising him at the same time not to begin the engagement. The count of Maine commanded the rear-guard, and Lewis led up the body of the army. The count of Charolois disposed his troops very nearly upon the same plan. St. Pol had the van-guard, Anthony bastard of Burgundy was in the rear, and the count in the body of the army.

Neither the king nor the count of Charolois seemed as yet resolved upon a battle. The count was desirous of joining the Britons, and it was the king's inclination to gain Paris; but Brézé, to whom the king had discovered his suspicions, thought, that it became his honour not to avoid an engagement, which had been resolved upon contrary to his advice, and said to one of his confidants, *I will bring them so close together, that he shall be a notable man that can part them.*

The accounts given of the battle of Montlheri are all different, and frequently contradictory, though most of them were written by persons present in the engagement, as Olivier de la Marche, and Philip de Commines. We have another, that was sent to the duke of Burgundy by a general-officer in the count of Charolois's army; and a fourth drawn up from the report of several officers in the army of the king.

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These authors scarce agree in any particular, except in the disposition of the two armies. I have endeavoured to collect out of these different relations what has appeared to me most clear and certain.

The king, having marched all night, entered the valley of Trefou within view of the enemy's army. Commines pretends, that if the French had been attacked upon their first arrival, they must have been cut to pieces, as they were greatly fatigued with a forced march, and could pass only in file. On the other side, the Burgundians made two considerable faults; the first was, that the cavalry dismounted, in conformity to a point of honour, which they derived from their ancestors, to fight thus in battle array; but as they were loaded with heavy arms, they found themselves at this time so embarrassed, that they could not act. They were therefore obliged to mount their horses again by the assistance of their archers, who, by this means, lost the opportunity of fighting. The time taken up in this affair allowed the king time also to bring up his army, and range it in order of battle behind a fossé, fortified with a strong palisade.

A second fault committed by the Burgundians was, that in marching against the enemy, they were obliged to pass over a field sowed with beans and other grain of a stubborn and troublesome nature. The count of Charolois had given orders, that this field should be passed at three several times, but his troops being full of spirit crossed it without halting, and by this means were quite out of breath, when they came up to the French. Neither of the armies made such an advantage of the enemy's faults, as not to lose it in their turn by other faults of their own.

The battle was fought on Tuesday the sixteenth of July. They began to skirmish about ten o'clock, and were fully engaged by one. The king, after  
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having harassed the enemy for some time, briskly charged the count of S. Pol, drove him as far as the priory of Longpont, and routed the van-guard. The count of Charolois immediately came up to his assistance, and drove back the king, who rallied under the castle of Montlheri. The count, elate with this success, thought himself secure of the victory, and pursued the flying soldiers, when Contay and Anthony le Breton, an experienced officer, shewed him, that the French were rallied, and had entirely defeated the left wing, where Ravestein was. The disorder was so considerable on this side, that the greater part fled as far as St. Maixance, crying out that the count was beaten, and some of them saying, that he was slain. And indeed he was greatly in danger, by pursuing those who fled before him with much more eagerness than prudence. One of these turning back, gave him a terrible blow on the stomach; his cuirasse saved his life, but he had like to have been overthrown with the shock. The count, more bent upon attacking others, than careful to preserve himself, on a sudden found himself surrounded by some of the king's guards, and received a blow with a sword upon the throat. Philip Doignies, his standard-bearer, was killed by his side. Geoffrey of St. Belin, seeing the count in this danger, cried out, *Surrender, my lord, I know you well, suffer not yourself to be slain.* The count had certainly been taken, if a robust soldier, mounted on a strong horse, had not furiously forced himself betwixt him and St. Belin, in such a manner as to separate them, and deliver the count, who knighted him in the field. Olivier de la Marche names him Robert Cotereau; Commines calls him John Cadet; but both agree that he was the son of a Physician.

The count, covered over with blood, again joined such of his archers as were left, who did not exceed the

the number of forty, and themselves thought only of flying. The confusion and dispersion were so great, that an hundred men well united, would have totally defeated the army of the Burgundians, when the count de S. Pol came out of a wood, attended by about fifty soldiers, around whom a great many others rallied in proportion as he advanced. The count observing him to march slowly, sent to bid him come on faster. S. Pol kept still the same pace, and by this prudent step saved both the count and the rest of his army. The firm countenance of S. Pol induced the flying soldiers to rally behind him, and by that time he came up to the count of Charolois, he found himself at the head of eight hundred men.

This changed once more the face of affairs. The count driving the French army before him struck such a terror into the rear-guard, commanded by the count of Maine, that he instantly fled, and drew after him the admiral Montauban, la Borde, Salazar, and upwards of eight hundred men; but those of Dauphiné and Savoy distinguished themselves upon the occasion, and kept their ground. Thrice did the king rally his troops. He was to be seen in every part of the field, and wherever he was, he discharged the offices both of a general and a soldier. The left wing of the Burgundians was broke and cut to pieces, that of the French fared not much better. The army of the count of Charolois was more numerous by one third than that of the king, but the presence, courage, activity, and prudence of his majesty, seemed to multiply his troops, and made them formidable. Both sides fought with equal ardour; the conquered rallied, and the moment after the conqueror fled; victory changed sides alternately, and terror succeeded it; in the same body they gave way on one side, and triumphed on the other. The coming on of the

night abated the ardour of the combatants; they made only distant discharges of their artillery, they rallied, and kept upon their guard, till night separated them.

It would be hard to determine on which side the victory lay; it was always doubtful, and never fixed. Both sides believed, or would have had others believe, that they had gained it; but the disorder and confusion were universal. Hence, without doubt, arises the difference which we meet with in the accounts given of it. No body signalized themselves more than the king and the count of Charolois. Both the one and the other were frequently reported to be dead during the action, but they were presently seen to appear again; and these different rumours alternately inspired their troops with terror or confidence.

Historians differ concerning the number of the dead, and make them amount from two thousand to three thousand five hundred on both sides; however this be, the loss was very near equal. The king lost more horse than the count of Charolois, and the count's foot were the greatest sufferers. Brézé, a great commander, and who brought on the action, was one of the first that was slain. The king lost also Geoffrey de S. Belin, bailiff of Chaumont; Floquet, Bailiff of Evreux; and Philip de Lovan, Bailiff of Meaux. The chief of the count's army, that were left dead upon the field, were Philip de Lalain, de Hames, Doignios, a brother of the lord of Halhuin and Crevecœur. Notwithstanding the prodigies of valour that were performed that day, several were so much frightened, that there were Burgundians who fled as far as Quesnoy, and Frenchmen as far as Poitou. Neither rewards nor punishments after the battle seem to have been distributed with much justice or judgment. *Tel*, says *Commynes*, *lost his places and estate for running away,*  
and



*and they were given to others, who ran ten leagues farther than he did.*

The battle, however, was of some advantage to the king; as the Parisians, upon the first defeat of the Burgundians, made a sally, carried off part of the baggage, with two thousand horses, and took eight hundred prisoners. Marechal Rouault seized upon the bridge of S. Cloud. Mouy, governor of Compiègne, getting together the garisons of Creil, Senlis, and Crepi, made himself master of St. Maixance.

The king, who had eat nothing all the day, entered into the castle of Montlheri, to rest and refresh himself, and then went to lie at Corbeil. The count of Charolois was obliged to pass the night upon the field of battle, and would afterwards have had what was done out of pure necessity considered as a proof of the victory. In short, his army was under a perpetual alarm, he caused an entrenchment to be made with waggons; they laid the dead on heaps, and so formed a place where they put some bundles of straw for him to rest himself upon, and have his wounds dressed.

The persuasion, wherewith the Burgundians were possessed, that the king still kept the field; their apprehension, lest the Parisians should march to reinforce his army, and surprize them; the number of the dead, and the cries of the wounded, filled the camp with the utmost consternation. The count of Charolois called a council; S. Pol and his brother Haubourdin were of opinion, that it would be most adviseable to set fire to the baggage, save only the artillery, and return towards Burgundy, without which, they must unavoidably perish, either by the sword or famine. Contay was of a quite different sentiment, and said, such a retreat was a shameful flight, that the Burgundians would disband, and that more of them would fall by the hands of the

peasants, than would die in a battle, whereof the success would depend upon their valour, and even upon the necessity of conquering or dying.

The count of Charolois approved an advice, which flattered his courage and presumption; no body dared to contradict it, and he gave orders to prepare for an engagement at break of day, but was soon informed, that the king had retired. *Several, says Commynes, proposed to pursue him, who, but the moment before, had but a very bad countenance.* The count of Charolois marched to Estempes, where he was joined the next day by the dukes of Berry and Britany.

The king arrived at Paris on thursday evening, and supped with Charles de Melun, grand-master of France, where several of the citizens had the honour of supping with him. During supper-time he gave a particular account of the battle: and being obliged, in order to do justice to the valour of such as had distinguished themselves in the action, to speak of the dangers himself had run through, he did it in so lively a manner, as drew tears from all that were present. Though the victory had been doubtful, the glory of Lewis was not; they all passionately expressed their satisfaction in seeing him again, and their desire to follow him. The king returned them his thanks, and protested he never would lay down his arms, till he had extinguished the league. William Chartier, bishop of Paris, whose zeal exceeded his judgment, took this opportunity of waiting upon his majesty, to put him in mind of his duty, and to advise him to fix a council. Lewis heard him very patiently, and to gain the people, by seeming to yield to the bishop's advice, he nominated six noted citizens, six of the court of parliament, and six members of the university, to constitute this council. They abolished the greater  
part

part of the taxes, and of sixty-six farms, which were in Paris, they left only six remaining.

The king having granted considerable privileges to the university, was also desirous that the scholars should take up arms. This was so warmly opposed by the rector William Fichet, that his majesty was obliged to yield to the time; but some years after, he forced the rector to leave the kingdom.

Lewis next ratified the treaty he had made with the citizens of Liége, the month before, by which he engaged to send to their assistance two hundred lances, to defend their privileges, and to oblige the pope to confirm the regency they had assigned to the marquis of Baden. They promised on their side, to make neither peace nor truce with the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, and to enter Brabant sword in hand, as soon as the French should enter Hainault. This treaty proved afterwards the ruin of the city of Liége.

The time which the duke of Berry and the count of Charolois passed together, served only to alienate their affections the more from each other; the count's furious inclination for war became odious to the duke of Berry, and the duke's compassionate temper seemed to the count a contemptible weakness. The duke, upon seeing the wounded that were at Estempes, could not help saying with a sigh, that he wished he had never engaged in the war. Upon which the count, who with very great talents had no share of humanity, turning to his followers, *Did you hear that man, says he, he is frightened at seeing seven or eight hundred men walking wounded about the town, who are nothing to him, and whom he knows nothing of? how soon would he be frightened, if the case touched him nearer? he would be ready to compound upon every slight occasion, and leave us in the lurch; and considering the long wars, which have subsisted between his father king Charles, and my father the duke of Burgundy,*

*both these parties would easily combine against us; for which reason 'tis time for us to look out for friends.*

Philip de Commines adds, that the count of Charolois immediately dispatched William de Cluny into England, to demand king Edward's sister in marriage, with private orders to conclude nothing, only to amuse Edward, and gain assistance from him. Commines did not consider, that Isabella of Bourbon, the count of Charolois's second wife was still living, and did not die till the 26th of September, above two months after the battle of Montlheri. There could not, therefore, as yet be any mention of the match between the count of Charolois and the princess of England, though he married her afterwards. Upon the report of the king's being slain at Montlheri, the princes of the league had held a council, wherein it was resolved by the advice of the count de Dunois, to desert the Burgundians, under an apprehension that the count of Charolois might usurp the crown. Dunois was desirous to weaken the king, but not to overturn the state. The count of Charolois, upon being informed of what passed in this council, perceived that the greater his success was, the more it would turn to his disadvantage, and that he had no reason to expect any benefit from the male-contents of France, who made use of him only to serve their own private interests. Under this notion he ratified the treaties he had made with the duke of Britany, without comprehending therein the duke of Berry.

*July 11.* The princes, quitting Estempes, marched to Larchaut and Moret. They hoped to pass the Seine by the bridge of Samois, and join the duke of Calabria, who was coming through Champagne; but the bridge being broken down, they were obliged to make a bridge with casks for the army to pass over. Rouault and Salazar, not being in a condition to oppose them,  
were

were constrained to retire. The army of the princes, instead of marching streight to Paris, passed into Brie. Here they were joined by the duke of Calabria with five thousand men, among whom were nine hundred old experienced soldiers commanded by James Galiot, the count of Campobasse, Baudricourt, the mareschal of Burgundy, Montaigu, and Rothelin, who were all of them excellent officers. The duke of Calabria had with him besides five hundred Switzers, the first who ever came into France, where they distinguished themselves by their valour and discipline, qualities which were never found to fail among the soldiers of that nation. Commines reports, that the army of the league amounted to an hundred thousand horse, in which reckoning he evidently takes in the artillery and the baggage; for we find in a manuscript of that time, that when the army came before Paris, they were about fifty thousand men.

Before the princes came up, the king departed from Paris to meet the succours *August.* he expected from Normandy, leaving behind four hundred lances, and two thousand three hundred frank-archers to guard the town, under the command of the mareschals of Comminges and Rouault, Gilles de S. Simon, and de la Barde.

The enemy having made themselves *Aug. 17.* masters of the bridge of Charenton, there were from that moment continual skirmishes. The princes sent six heralds with letters to the bishop, the clergy, the parliament, *Aug. 22.* the town, and the university. The substance of them was, that as the princes had taken up arms only for the publick good, they required them to send deputies, with whom they might confer.

The bishop was placed at the head of the deputation, the rest were chosen out of the clergy, the parliament, the university, and even from among the tradesmen.

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When these deputies came before the princes, the count of Dunois addressing himself to them, told them, *That the king had made an alliance with foreigners, to destroy the great families of the kingdom, and particularly the houses of Orleans, Burgundy, Britany, and Bourbon; that he refused to call an assembly of the states; and that for this reason, it was necessary, that hereafter, the army should be commanded, places disposed of, and the finances administered only by the counsel of the princes; and that by way of security, they required them to give up the king's person, and the capital city of the kingdom into their hands, or at least permit the princes to enter the city under a proper guard to confer with them themselves; that they should be allowed only two days to come to a determination, and that when that term was expired, they would make a general assault, without giving any quarter.*

When the deputies came to make their report, their own fright made them magnify the object, and spread a terror amongst several of those who heard them; there were some also, who merely thro' an inclination to see a change in the government, advised to receive the princes; but the soldiery gave a check to these popular fears, by instilling greater, and threatening to massacre whoever should presume to propose the princes admission. They therefore sent back the deputies, with orders to say only, that they could come to no resolution without orders from the king, who was absent. The count de Dunois observing their fright, thought proper to add to it, by telling them, they had nothing more to do, than to prepare against a general assault the next day. Upon the report of the deputies, all possible care was taken to put the city into a posture of defence, but the enemy did not appear. An hundred lances were sent out to watch their motions, who marched up to the very tents of the  
Burgundians,

Burgundians, and carried off above sixty of their horses.

Within two days after, the king returned at the head of 12,000 men, and threw such a quantity of ammunition into Paris, that during a siege, which lasted near three months, there was constantly a plentiful provision. He was received by his subjects with the warmest expressions of joy, every one thinking his own safety annexed to his majesty's person.

Lewis having taken an account of the deputation, which was made during his absence, expelled the deputies, who had betrayed the greatest signs of fear, judging them to be equally dangerous in the present circumstance, as tho' they had been criminal. He shewed no other mark of his resentment towards the bishop, than by declining to take the same notice of him, he had done before. Some of the people, who had uttered seditious discourses, were put to death, and there was one whipped for only giving the alarm during an assault. Faults were not so much punished for being grievous, as for the consequences attending them.

In short, if the princes had been admitted to hold conferences in Paris, misrepresentation, treachery, or terror, would have made them masters of that city, and the loss of the capital would have drawn after it that of the kingdom. The king was so very sensible of all these consequences, that he often said afterwards, that if the princes had made themselves masters of Paris, he should have had no other refuge than to pass into Switzerland, or to Milan.

After his return, the skirmishes grew *Septemb.* more frequent, more brisk, and almost always fortunate to the besieged. These little successes filled them with confidence, and lessened the presumption of the leaguers. The king, to keep up this disposition in their minds, seemed desirous

to offer battle, and took the royal standard, with all the ceremonies that are apt to impose upon the populace; but his majesty was too prudent to expose his crown to the hazard of a battle. When he seemed to breathe nothing but combat, he was labouring privately to divide the league. These preparations, and the continual fire from the ramparts, kept the besiegers in perpetual uneasiness, and frequently gave them the alarm. Their scouts one night brought them word, that they had seen the king's army advance in order of battle. The count of Charolois, and the duke of Calabria, immediately mounted, and gave orders for the engagement; but advancing towards the place that had been pointed out to them, and day beginning to break, they found that what they had taken for a company of soldiers, was no more than a field overgrown with large thistles. In the mean time, the king bending his mind wholly upon disuniting the leagued princes, engaged the king of Sicily to write to his son the duke of Calabria, to draw him off from the league. There was a firm friendship subsisting between the count of Charolois and the duke of Calabria. These two princes both took delight in war, and were equally courageous; but the duke had much the advantage in point of prudence, wisdom, moderation, and the other talents of a general. He had long fought in Italy, and at first with good success; the disappointments which afterwards befel him, and lost him the crown of Naples, gave at least a proof that he deserved it. More admirable in his disgraces, than shining in his successes, he never underwent a disaster, which did not add to his glory. Adored by his subjects, and respected by his enemies, his reputation no longer depended upon victory; he was frequently unfortunate, but never ceased to be great. We may well say, that if the count of Charolois was the most valiant soldier of his

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his age, the duke of Calabria was one of the greatest commanders.

This prince, who was not long without perceiving the vain pretext, and real misery of the war, thought himself bound in honour not to quit the party, wherewith he was engaged, but omitted nothing in his power to bring back the princes of the league to their duty, and was the principal author of the peace that followed.

They agreed upon a truce for eight days, which indeed was very ill kept. The enemy having fortified themselves in the Isle of S. Denis, raised a bastion over-against the port à Langlois, and attempted to throw a bridge over the river. This breach of the truce was complained of; but as the princes paid no great regard to these complaints, a soldier whose name deserved to have been preserved, swam cross the river, and cut the cable which held the bridge of boats, so that it was carried down with the stream. The continual alarms, that were spread both in Paris and the enemies camp, made the truce as fatiguing as the war. The troops of the duke of Nemours and the count of Armagnac over-run Brie and Champagne, putting all to the fire and sword, and at the same time declared themselves to be protectors of the publick good.

In the mean time, commissioners were named on both sides to treat of peace. Their first conferences seemed auspicious enough; but the princes falling into distrust, agreed upon a new oath to be taken amongst themselves, to conclude nothing without the mutual consent of each other.

The king, to cut short the conferences, gave the princes a meeting at Charenton, taking with him only Charles de Melun, Montauban, Nantouillet, du Lau, and two or three other persons. His majesty seeing the count of Charolois waiting for him on the other side of the river, cried out to

him, *my brother, may I rely upon you? Yes,* answered the count, *as upon a brother.* Immediately the king landed, and said to him, *I know you, brother, to be a gentleman of the house of France. Why so, my lord,* replies the count. *Because,* says the king smiling, *when I sent my ambassadors not long ago to my uncle, your father, and you, at Lisle, and that fool Morvilliers talked so notably to you, you sent me word by the archbishop of Narbonne, who is a gentleman that every body approves of, and will stand to what he says, that I should repent of Morvilliers speeches before the end of the year. You have kept your promise, and done it much sooner than the end of the year. I love to deal with such people, as make good their promises instantly.* The king disclaimed Morvilliers, and said, he did not order him to speak as he had done.

The princes next came to the conditions of peace, and then the publick good was openly seen to be private interest. The propositions they made, and which after their conference were debated by their plenipotentiaries in the abbey of S. Antoine, and the grange *aux Merciers*, consisted in demanding Normandy or Guyenne for the duke of Berry, instead of Berry. The king would not grant either of these provinces, and offered instead of Berry, Champagne, the Vermandois, Guise, Tournay, and Brie, except Meaux, Melun, and Montereau. The count of Charolois demanded for himself the ransomed towns upon the Somme. Instead of these towns, the king consented to give the county of Boulogne, Peronne, Roye and Montdidier, but would never listen to any proposal concerning Normandy, as it carried with it one third of the offices of the state. This was precisely the reason, which engaged the princes to insist upon this article, that by weakening so much the king's power, they might have nothing to fear ever after from his resentment. The other princes demanded considerable  
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lands, places and pensions, so that Lewis was to have seen himself stripped of his demesnes, and authority, and reduced to the meer empty title of king.

Tho' the conferences were held every day, the peace did not advance. The king being informed, that the widow of Brézé, seneschal of Normandy, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, bishop of Bayeaux, had given the duke of Bourbon admittance into Rouen, and that Thomas Bazin, bishop of Lizieux, the most furious zealot amongst the leaguers, was blowing up the coals of rebellion in Normandy, he grew apprehensive, that the like treasonable disturbances might spread into other cities; the very Parisians became suspected, insomuch, that he exacted from them a new oath of allegiance; an useles remedy against treachery, if the zeal wherewith it was taken, had not given a sufficient warrant of their fidelity. The king finding it was to no purpose to contest about the cession of Normandy, which declared for the duke of Berry, and fearing lest the Normans should desert from his army, and farther won over by the advice of Sforza duke of Milan, who did not cease to persuade him, that the only way to crush the league, was to grant all their demands without distinction, and afterwards to consult only circumstances, and his own interest, in the observation or infraction of the treaty; the king, I say, sent to demand a conference with the count of Charolois.

These two princes met between the town and the camp. After ordering their attendants to withdraw, the king told the count the news he had heard of the revolt of Rouen, and added, that without this, he would never have made a cession of Normandy, but that he must satisfy the Normans, as they would have a duke. The count of Charolois was scarce able to conceal the satisfaction which this gave him.

By an accident which seldom happens, and which was solely owing to his majesty's foresight, the besiegers were reduced to great wants, at the same time as the besieged had plenty of every thing. The count was desirous of carrying the war into another quarter, and punishing the Lægois who ravaged his father's provinces; and besides, was apprehensive that the rest of the princes would make their treaty without him. With these notions full in his head, and walking still towards Paris with the king, he entered the first intrenchments. He did not perceive his imprudence till it was too late to fall back. A thousand dreadful ideas straight presented themselves to his mind; he recollected in an instant the tragical exit of his grandfather on the bridge of Montereau; however, dissembling his uneasiness, he stopped on a sudden, seemed as if he was desirous to look at the intrenchments, affected an extraordinary gaiety, and after talking a while longer, took his leave of the king, who returned him his compliments with a smile, to let him see, that he had discovered his fears. Thibaut de Neuchâtel, marshal of Burgundy, a warm blunt man, being informed of the count's imprudence, immediately called together S. Pol, Hautbourdin, Contay, and the principal persons in the army, and addressing himself to them, *If (says he) this indiscreet mad young prince has ruined himself, let not us ruin his family, or lose either his father's estate or our own; for which reason I would advise every one of us to return to his tent, and there hold himself in readiness, without being surprized at any event that may happen; for if we keep together, we are enough even to make a retreat to the frontiers of Hainault, or Picardy, or into Burgundy.* Immediately they mounted their horses to look out for him. As soon as the marshal saw him, *I am only lent you (says he to him) whilst your father lives. Do not chide me (replies the count) for I am very sensible* of

*of the folly I have committed, tho' it was so late before I perceived it, that I was just upon the brink of ruin.*

The marshal went on however to reproach him very severely, and then told him the advice he had given during his absence. The count heard him without giving any answer, and with a kind of submission, which was too sincere to apologize for himself, and too great to be offended with the reproaches.

Lewis, who was no less bent upon gaining over his enemies, than putting an end to the war, did not think it adviseable to take an advantage of the fault, which the count of Charolois had committed, by an act of violence, which could have had no other consequence, than the prolonging of the war. The king's generosity, though interested, ought however to have won him the heart of the count; but in all probability, it only increased that prince's hatred, who could not bear to be under any obligation to the king. Good offices, which do not reconcile an enemy, serve only to incense him.

The plenipotentiaries being met to agree upon the conditions of peace, the proposals of the league were, that the duke of Berry should enjoy every branch of sovereignty in Normandy; that the duke of Calabria should have Mouson, S. Menchould, Neuchâtel, the pay of fifteen hundred lances for six months, a hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and that the king should renounce all alliances with Ferdinand of Arragon, and those of Metz.

The count of Charolois demanded for himself and his next heir the ransomed towns upon the Somme, which after them might be redeemed for two hundred thousand crowns, without the count's being obliged to give back the four hundred thousand crowns, which the king had disbursed for the ransom; he farther required to have Boulogne, Guisne, Peronne, Mondidier, and Roye, as a perpetual inheritance.

heritance. The pragmatick sanction was to be re-established.

The duke of Bourbon would have Donchery, several lordships in Auvergne, three hundred lances, and a hundred thousand crowns.

The duke of Britany demanded Montfort, Estempes, and the regale in all his demesnes.

The count of Dunois was to keep his company of one hundred lances. Albret and Armagnac demanded lands and pensions. Dammartin was to be restored to his estate, and have a company of an hundred lances. Loheac required to be made first mareschal of France, Tanneguy du Chatel to be grand ecuyer, de Beüil high admiral, and S. Pol constable.

The king, who had taken his resolution suitably to the advice of the duke of Milan and his own maxims, accepted almost all the conditions with some few alterations; for instance, Tanneguy was not made grand ecuyer, nor Beüil high admiral, but S. Pol had the constable's sword. The king sought by this means to draw off a powerful subject from the court of Burgundy, the count of Charolois reckoned to have a zealous servant in France, and S. Pol, who was the head of the imperial house of Luxembourg, and proud of his birth, estate, and offices, thought of making the courts of France and Burgundy subservient to his own designs, and looked upon himself as too powerful to remain long a subject. We shall hereafter see the event of his projects.

When all were pretty well satisfied, they spoke in general terms of the publick good, but came to no decision; and the people, who are often the pretext, and always the victims of the great men, were farther oppressed to satisfy the greediness of those, who professed themselves their protectors. Dammartin therefore had reason to write as he did some time after to the count of Charolois when duke of Burgundy,

gundy, that this league had been the league of the publick mischief.

How much displeas'd soever the king might be with having accepted such hard conditions, he had no room to repent of it, not only because he was determin'd to shake them off in a more favourable season, but also because the count of Charolois a few days after received a reinforcement of an hundred and twenty lances and forty thousand crowns, which perhaps might have rendered him more difficult.

The peace between the king and the princes of the league was concluded by two different treaties, which it is the more necessary to distinguish, because several authors confound them, though both of them are printed.

By the treaty of Conflans, signed on the fifth of October, Lewis made an agreement with the count of Charolois alone. It was the king's policy to separate the count's interest from that of the allies; that in case they refused the overtures of peace, or after having complied with them, should renew the war, the count should be under no obligation to join with them, or at least might excuse himself from it. In this act the king styles the count de Charolois his *brother* and *cousin*.

The treaty made at S. Maur with the other princes of the league was not signed till the twenty-ninth of October. 'Tis in this treaty that most of the articles are to be found, which we have related above. The treaty of Conflans was presented to the parliament on the twelfth of October to be registered. The parliament oppos'd it, not only upon account of the alienations of the demesnes, but also as it was a treaty made by force, and that in order to execute it the king by one of the articles submitted to the pope. The chancellor being in parliament, demanded the advice of the lords and prelates that were present. They all gave their opinion for the registering

stering of it. As they were not ignorant, that the magistrates were of different sentiments, they did not put it to the vote; there were several debates about it, nor was the treaty registered till some days after. The parliament added, that they were constrained to obey, and that it was done without prejudice to the oppositions. The chamber of accounts shewed the same resolution. Nor did the treaty of S. Maur meet with less difficulties. The king was by no means displeas'd to find so much opposition. He required it to be registered in compliance with the necessity of the time, and himself made a protestation against the said treaty.

The peace being concluded, there was published a general act of oblivion. The leaguers immediately flocked to Paris in such numbers, that there was reason to apprehend a surprize; but as the king was dispos'd to instil confidence into the princes, he gave them continual marks of his own. He went alone to see a review of the enemy's troops, without having any body about him but those he had so lately fought with. After the shew was over, the count of Charolois cried out aloud, *Gentlemen, you and I are the king's, my sovereign lord's here present, to serve him wherever he will please to employ us.*

The king and the count of Charolois said a thousand obliging things to each other, mutually embraced, swore to keep up an eternal friendship, and remained irreconcilable enemies.

The cession of Normandy, however, underwent great difficulties upon account of the large fiefs, which were held of that duchy. The peerages of Eu and Alençon belonged to the princes of the blood, and the question was, whether these fiefs should revert to the duke of Normandy or the crown, in case these princes should die without children. At last it was agreed, in order to put an end to all difficulties, to remit the decision of this question



question to the judgment of the peers, whenever the case should happen.

The peace being proclaimed, the king *Oct. 30.* went to Vincennes to receive the homage of his brother for the duchy of Normandy, that of the count of Charolois for the lands in Picardy, and the oath of the constable. The gate and apartments of the castle were guarded by the count's men, who had insisted upon it, that the king *for that day should give up to him the castle of Vincennes for the security of all.* His majesty did not think it advisable to refuse that vain formality. Never people testified so much love for their prince as the Parisians shewed upon this occasion; they could not bear, that the king should give himself up without precaution, into the hands of enemies so lately reconciled. They posted two and twenty thousand armed men around the castle of Vincennes, and obliged the king to go back and lie at Paris. The next morning the duke of Normandy set forward on his journey, and the other princes returned soon after to their own estates.

The treaties of Conflans and S. Maur were scarce signed, before there arrived ambassadors from James II. king of Scotland, to set forth his claim to Saintonge. Charles VII. had promised the county of Saintonge to James I. upon condition, that the Scots should send an army to drive the English out of France. As neither James I. nor James II. had taken care to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, Lewis told the ambassadors, that their master had not the least pretensions to Saintonge. The ambassadors added, that their master had ordered them to acquaint the king, that he would not suffer him to make war upon his ally the duke of Britany. The king sent back word to them, that he could not believe they were charged with such a commission, and dismissed them. It was not doubted, but

but that the duke of Britany had brought these embassadors, more especially when they were seen to repair to his highness, and to return with him.

The king being minded to make reparation for the disorders of the civil-war, called to his councils the great men of the kingdom, the magistrates, even the citizens, and all in general, whose zeal and understanding were capable of contributing to the welfare of the state. To fix the bastard of Bourbon in his interest, he married him to Jane his natural daughter, and gave with her Usson in Auvergne, Cremieu, Moras, Beaurepaire, Visille, and Cornillon in Dauphiné, which were judged to bring in yearly a revenue amounting in the whole to six thousand livres.

He restored to their places all those, whom he judged to have been wrongfully put out of them, or gave them to those whom he thought to be most deserving of them. The office of chancellor was given again to William Juvenal des Ursins. Davet, the premier president of Toulouse was appointed premier president of Paris, with the encomiums due to his merit, and superior to his dignity. It was farther ordained, that when any office of president or counsellor should be vacant, the parliament should present three persons to the king, who should make choice of one of them. His majesty finding himself unable to relieve the people so much as he desired, gave them the comfort at least of a gracious reception. As the Parisians had distinguished themselves most by their services, he granted them the privilege of not being obliged to plead in any court out of Paris, with exemption from the arrear-ban and lodging of soldiers. He invited the citizens to dine with him, visited them at their houses, and charmed them by those acts of affability and humanity, which are so prevalent over the hearts of Frenchmen, as to make

a deeper impreſſion than even tyranny can ever eradicate.

It was not long before the ill conſequences of the conditions of the peace were felt, by the diminution of the revenues of the crown, and the augmentation of the charges of the ſtate. It ſoon became neceſſary to overload the people, in order to pay the demands of the pretended defenders of the publick weal. The difference of accounts in the year preceding, and the year following after the war, is very conſiderable. The ſum total of the penſions diſburſed in 1465, was an hundred and eight thouſand five hundred and ſixty-four livres, and in 1466 they amounted to two hundred and ſixty-fix thouſand nine hundred livres.

It perhaps will not be diſagreeable to find here in brief the manner wherein the impoſitions were then raiſed. The caſe of Languedoc will give us an idea of what was practiſed in the other provinces.

The States of Languedoc aſſembled at Montpellier in 1464, ordained with the king's conſent a kind of capitation to ſerve inſtead of all other taxes, which were found too burthenſome to the people.

By the new repartition, widows, orphans, and poor people, were exempt from payment. Every head, having fifty livres, paid ten *ſols*. Every head, having an hundred, paid two and twenty *ſols*; and he that had more, and under three hundred, paid thirty-ſeven *ſols* ſix *deniers*. From three to five hundred livres, they paid ſixty *ſols*; and they that had upwards of five hundred livres, paid a *maille denier*, or livre. The impoſition amounted to an hundred and twenty-fix thouſand livres, which the king accepted inſtead of all taxes and other cuſtoms; however, as we ſhall ſee, things remained not long in this ſituation.

By the cession of the demesnes, granted to the princes of the league, France lay open on all sides, and exposed to the invasions of the Burgundians, the Britons, and the English. Paris became almost a frontier town. This made it necessary to keep up strong garisons in the fortified places, which were very burthensome to the people. The king had foreseen this troublesome situation; but it was necessary to divide the league, with a reserve to act against the treaty in more favourable circumstances. These very soon presented themselves by a misunderstanding between the dukes of Normandy and Britany, or rather betwixt their followers, who governed them.

The widow of Brezé, the bishop of Bayeux, John of Lorain, de Beüil, Patrick Foucard, formerly captain of the Scottish Guards, and several others, who had followed the fortunes of the duke, with a view of serving themselves thereby, demanded all the places that were to be disposed of, for themselves or their friends, and were almost ready to fight for them. Dammartin, who had flattered himself that he should absolutely govern him, could not bear a competitor in his favour, and went over to the duke of Britany. There daily arose some new difference between the partisans of the two princes. A report was spread, that the duke of Britany intended to carry off his highness; the Normans took the alarm, and the intrigues of the court had like to have ended in an open war. Tanneguy du Châtel, who was thoroughly acquainted with the disposition of the duke of Britany, employed the ascendant he had over him only to his own advantage, and engaged him to retire into his own dominions, and not trouble himself any more with the affairs of *Monsieur*.

Lewis judging the conjuncture favourable to his designs, took a sudden journey to the duke of Britany at Caen, and made a *Dec. 3.* treaty with him, by which the duke obliged himself not to join with any person whatsoever against his majesty, and the king in return confirmed the duke in the possession of the regale in Britany, took his person and estates under his protection, and received into favour the count of Du-nois, Dammartin, mareschal de Loheac and Lescun, who had quitted the king's service to enter into the duke's. From this act of grace were excepted the lords of Beüil and Clermont, Charles d'Amboise, John de Daillon, and some others, who ceased to be criminal, as soon as they came to be useful.

*The End of the THIRD BOOK.*

THE  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
L E W I S XI.

B O O K IV.

1466.  
*Easter,*  
*April 6.* **L**EWIS the XIth having only ceded Normandy to his brother through necessity, and with design to retake it the first opportunity, he caused an army to march into it at the same time that he was treating with the duke of Bretagne. He soon became master of Vernon, D'Evreux, Gisors, Gournay, and Louviers; and caused Pont-de-l'Arche to be invested. Salazar and Malortie advanced with a detachment as far as St. Ouen; but a body of troops being sent out of Roan, killed upwards of fifty or sixty of them, and threw themselves into Pont-de-l'Arche. After this they made a fresh sally, and put to the sword upwards of three hundred archers. The king began to fear the consequences of this resistance, when the person who had delivered Pontaise to the leagued princes, was made prisoner, and evaded the punishment due to his former treachery, by another; which was the surrendering Pont-de-l'Arche.

The king immediately formed the siege of Roan; and Monsieur, finding himself unable to resist him, dispatched Brunet de Longchamp, the high constable's lieutenant, to represent to the count de Charolois,

lois, that the king having taken advantage of the disputes which had arose between the Bretons and Normans, though the friendship between their princes was not in the least diminished thereby, had entered Normandy with an army, and to cover his invasion, had declared that the duke of Normandy had offered to resign this appenage; that such an offer was not in the least probable; that the duke desired the count de Charolois would maintain him in the possession of his appenage, send him four hundred lances, and lend him fifty thousand crowns. Longchamp had orders at the same time to sound whether the duke of Burgundy would give a retreat to Monsieur, in case he should not be able to maintain himself in Normandy.

The count de Charolois was so taken up with his war against the liegeois, that he could give the duke of Normandy neither hopes nor assistance; and measures were so well taken by the treaty of Caen, that Monsieur found himself obliged to apply immediately to the king. He caused it to be represented to him, that he was entirely ignorant of the reasons why he should be deprived of his appenage, and the inhabitants of Roan punished for their attachment to their lawful prince; that his majesty was desired to consider, that one was his brother, and the others his subjects; and that Monsieur would consent to acquiesce in any thing that should be determined by the dukes of Calabria, Bourbon, and Bretagne, by the count de Charolois, or by the states of the kingdom. The king replied, he would grant no more than a truce of ten days, during which the differences in question might be discussed. The inhabitants of Roan fearing they should be taken by assault, and treated as rebels, offered to surrender, provided they might have an amnesty. The king ordered it to be told them, that having never judged them culpable, they had no occasion for pardon;

rolais ; they had no longer any thing for his  
compassion ; which in princes generally is  
contempt : and therefore they contented them-  
selves with writing faintly in his favour.

The king continued to use severity and clemency  
by turns, in order to reduce the Normans. He  
gave an amnesty to Louviers, Laudebec, and  
Dieppe, granted letters of remission to the viscount  
Brezé, and to all those whose repentance he thought  
sincere, revolt dangerous, or services useful. That  
his clemency might not appear an effect of  
timidity or weakness, he caused the castle of  
Montfort, belonging to Peter d'Amboise, to be  
besieged. John of Lorain was imprisoned, Eustace  
drowned at Louviers, and Mauviel beheaded at  
de-l'arche.

Lewis having compleated his  
*Feb. 6.* possession of Normandy by the conquest  
of the states of that province at Lisieux,  
monseigneur found himself reduced to such an extent  
that he was obliged to sell his plate for the subsistence  
of himself and attendants, saying, he had  
eat upon earth. than see men suffer. who we



estate. Monsieur came to him there, in quest of an asylum ; and upon his arrival at Nantes, found Imbercourt there, who was sent from the duke of Burgundy to make his excuses for not having been able to send him assistance. Monsieur replied, he had hoped for more real services, gave a recital of his sufferings, and concluded with saying, that the princes who had signed the treaties of Conflans and St. Maur ought to be guarantees of them ; and that their personal interest was concerned in it, since the like infractions were to be feared by themselves, when the king, who always regulated his rights by his capacity, should have augmented his power.

The king, not being ignorant of his brother's engagements with the court of Burgundy, sent a celebrated embassy to the count de Charolois, at the head of which was George de la Tremouille, known by the name of the sire de Craon, in order to prevent the impressions which the clamours of monsieur might make upon the minds of the people.

La Tremouille, being arrived at the court of Burgundy, laid open the conduct and motives of the king. *He represented, that this prince had always had the most tender regard for his brother ; that he had ceded Berry to him, at a time when he was scarce fifteen years old ; and had added such pensions to it as he appeared to be satisfied with, if one might judge from the thanks which he gave upon the first movements of his gratitude ; that he had since been seduced by rebels, and had indelicately fled out of the kingdom ; that the king, to bring him back to his duty, had proposed to him the regulating his appennage upon the footing of that of Lewis duke of Orleans, brother to Charles VI. or to refer it to the decision of the princes of the blood, and such persons as were thoroughly acquainted with the laws of the kingdom ; that monsieur, instead of entering into an accommodation, had been the author of a civil war, criminal on his part, and fatal to the state ; that he had demanded Normandy for*

*his appennage; that during the conferences held upon this subject, he had raised the inhabitants of that province, and had declared himself its duke; that the king had only ceded it to him by a forced treaty, which he was so far from being obliged to observe, that his honour called upon him to retake his rights, which if he failed to do, he should at once betray the interest and laws of the kingdom. Normandy, said la Tremouille, bears a third of the charges of the state; it is by this province that the English have always entered the kingdom; and it was never given in appennage. There is even an ordinance of Charles V. renewed by Charles VII. and registered at Paris and Roan, which expressly forbids Normandy's being taken from the king, to be made an appennage. It is dangerous and burdensome to the state for the power of its inferior princes to be too great. Charles V. so remarkable for the wisdom of his government, finding that the duke of Orleans his uncle, the only brother of king John, had too great an appennage, he obliged him, by advice of the princes and grandees of the kingdom, to resign a part of it. Monsieur himself complains, that the government of Normandy is too great a burden to him, has proposed an exchange of it, and the Normans are desirous of being re-united to the crown.*

La Tremouille at the same time presented the declaration of Charles V. which fixed the appennage of his second son Lewis of Orleans, the dauphin's only brother, to twelve thousand livres of land revenue, and forty thousand livres in money, with the title of count. He delivered letters patent to the count de Charolois, by which the king ratified the cession of the towns upon the Somme, and moreover ceded all the villages upon the same river, dependant upon the antient jurisdiction of the provosts of St. Quintin.

La Tremouille's reasons, some of which were good, and others specious; prevented the court of  
Burgundy

Burgundy from interesting itself much in the fate of monsieur.

Lewis finding himself easy with regard to his brother and the duke of Bretagne, thought of nothing but gaining the house of Anjou. He caused twenty-four thousand livres to be remitted to the duke of Calabria. This liberality being bestowed at a time when this prince had need of it, it inspired him with sentiments of gratitude, and for ever attached him to the king. Lewis was not so certain of the fidelity of the earl of Maine. Reports had been spread, during the war of the publick good, very disadvantageous to the character of that prince: It was strongly suspected that his flight at the battle Montlhery, proceeded from his being in confederacy with the league; and though this was difficult to prove, his fidelity could no otherwise be defended, than by accusing him of want of courage: A cruel alternative for a prince; whose conduct could not be justified without a blemish upon his honour.

The king was told also, that the earl of Maine had been informed of the intended league; that he had promised to join in it, that he had not received all those gentlemen who had offered themselves to serve in the royal army; and that he had secreted the money that was destined for the payment of the recruits. He had at the beginning of the war prevented the king from marching directly to Bourges, which if he had done, it would very probably have put an end to the war in its birth. He had avoided giving battle to the duke of Bretagne, though he was superior to him in the number and strength of his forces. He had kept a strict correspondence with the princes during the siege of Paris; and all this wrong conduct was confirmed by his own imprudent discourses. The king was persuaded of the count's infidelity, but as he could not absolutely prove it, he resolved to prevent his bad designs for

the future, by depriving him of his company of one hundred lances: He wrote to him, and told him, he was accused of holding such correspondence with the duke of Nemours, as was contrary to the interests of the state, and of having a design to deliver up Languedoc, Paris, and even the king himself.

The earl of Maine, who was in Poitou, immediately sent his natural son, to represent to the king how sensibly touched he was at the malicious aspersions endeavoured to be cast upon him; that he would have come and justified himself, had he not been informed, that his majesty was coming immediately into Poitou; that he hoped his majesty would consider, that if he deprived him of his company, there would be none who would not look upon such an affront as a just punishment for the greatest crimes, and

*March.* an injury to the house of Anjou. Lewis, dissembling his suspicions, answered the earl of Maine, that he did not doubt his innocence; but being obliged to disband part of the troops, in order to ease the people, or else to employ them in the service of the duke of Bretagne, agreeable to the treaty of Caen, therefore those princes and noblemen who had the least occasion for their companies, ought to sacrifice them to the good of the state: and thus the earl of Maine was deprived of his company, and soon after of the government of Languedoc.

Lewis communicated his motives to king René; and to convince him, that he did not impute the earl of Maine's personal faults to the house of Anjou, he ratified the marriage concluded in the first year of his reign, between madam Ann of France his eldest daughter, and Nicholas marquis du Pont, son of the duke of Calabria, and grandson to king René. Lewis, by the marriage contract, gave his daughter four hundred and eighty-seven thousand and five hundred

hundred livres, of which he paid immediately one hundred thirty-seven thousand and five hundred livres, and as security for the rest, put them in possession of several lands, with a clause of reversion to the crown, in case they had no children. This contract was signed the first of August following. And the same day, the treaty of marriage between the constable de S. Pol and Mary of Savoy, the Queen's sister, was signed also. The king designing by this marriage to attach the constable to his interests, he by the marriage contract gave him the earldom of Guise and the lordship of Novion in Tierache, and promised him the succession to the estate and title of the count d'Eu, in case that count died without male children. The earldom of d'Eu being of right revertible to the crown, for want of male heirs, the king by that means disposed of the succession of a living prince, and deprived the earl of Nevers of it, \* its natural heir, to whom it was in effect adjudged by the parliament some years after.

These marriages were no sooner concluded, than the king sent the duke of Calabria into Bretagne to terminate the differences concerning monsieur. All negotiation had hitherto only augmented the division. The duke of Calabria renewed the propositions which the king had before made to monsieur, either of ceding to him the earldoms of Roussillon and Cerdagne, or lower Dauphiny and the earldoms of Diois and Valentinois, or else to go to king René in Provence: but monsieur refused to hearken to any accommodation. The duke of Bretagne, fearing lest he should be unavoidably engaged in a war, told him, that if he did not accept the king's offers, he could not longer give him an asylum: Monsieur replied, that in this case he would sum-

mon

\* The counts d'Eu and Nevers were of the royal branch of Artois.

mon him and the duke of Bourbon to terminate the affair of his appennage according to their engagements. After much fruitless negotiation, the duke of Bretagne finding the king would abate nothing of his pretensions, and not being able with honour to abandon an unfortunate prince, he renewed his alliance with monsieur, and gave him four thousand crowns for the support of his household.

These two princes endeavoured to draw England into their party; and the king on his side endeavoured to conclude a peace, or at least to renew the truce with that power, whom he feared more than any other. But his fears were dissipated upon the arrival of ambassadors from England, with letters from the earl of Warwick, assuring his majesty, that he intended speedily to come into France, in order to negotiate a peace.

The king immediately ordered Guy bishop of Langres, the bastard of Bourbon, John Stuyer, sire de la Barde, Popincourt counsellor in parliament, and Oliver de Roux, all to repair to the earl of Warwick at Calais, with orders first to go and communicate their instructions to the duke of Burgundy. The truce was prolonged for eight months, and it was agreed to meet again in order to convert it into a peace.

At the same time the king was negotiating with England, he published a declaration, signifying, that all gentlemen possessed of fiefs and arriere-fiefs, should keep themselves in readiness to march. Martin Petit, captain of the volunteer archers of Beauvaisis, having in consequence of the king's commands, ordered those of the provostships of that province, to repair on a certain day to Beauvais; the count de Charolois pretended that these provostships having been given to him, ought from him only to receive orders. He was piqued also at the general of the finances having refused him an order  
to

to impose aids and taxes upon these provostships. And imagining that Lewis and Edward would unite and make war upon him, he wrote a very insolent letter to the king, in Aug. 16. which he treated him simply with the title of *monsieur* \*, and demanded of him an explanation of his designs.

The king, without deigning to answer him, sent his letter to the assembly then held at Estempes for the reformation of the state. By the treaty of St. Maur, it had been agreed, that thirty-six able persons should be appointed, viz. twelve prelates, twelve gentlemen, and twelve magistrates, for the reformation of the state. The multiplicity of affairs in which the king was engaged, and the contagion which afflicted Paris, had retarded the execution of this article; but at last the reformers, to the number of twenty-one, opened their assembly at Paris.

The commissioners for the reformation were the earl of Dunois, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishop of Limoges, Torcy, the first president Dauvet, la Vernade chancellor of Bourbonnois, Rambures, d'Escars, Mouy, the bailiff of Vermandois, John de la Reauta, president of the inquests, Stephen le Fevre, provost of saint Junien, Francis Halla, John Chevredent, and some judges of Anjou. The earl of Dunois, in quality of chief of the commission, was always to be present and approve what should be done by the plurality of voices, and the commissioners could not deliberate on any thing unless thirteen, at least, were present.

The assembly was transferred to Estempes, because the contagion raged with great violence at Paris, and that it might be more convenient for the  
king,

\* The count de Charolois should have styled the king *most dread lord*, which title the vassal always gave to his sovereign.

king, who spent a great part of the year in Catinois, Beaufse, Orleanois, and Chartrain..

The king wrote to the dukes of Bretagne, Burgundy, Alençon, and Nemours, to the archbishops and bishops, constables and bailiffs, and to all the cities and towns, signifying that any of them were to inform the commissioners of such abuses as might be committed in the administration of justice, the finances, or the army. Though it was not particularly ordered that ecclesiastical affairs should be considered in this assembly, yet an account of the prodigious sums which Rome drew out of the kingdom was laid before them. And Chevrement made it appear, that notwithstanding the king's orders, there had been sent to Rome, during the three last years of the pontificate of Pius II. two hundred thousand crowns.

The commissioners, upon the reciprocal complaints of his majesty and the count de Charolois, having judged that it was necessary some considerable persons should be sent into Burgundy, the king nominated la Tremouille and John de Rochechouard, assisted by Cerisay, and de Compaing, counsellors in parliament.

These ambassadors repaired to Brussels, and gave the count de Charolois a letter from the king, in which his majesty complained of the count; and added, that the instructions of the plenipotentiaries who had signed the truce with England, had been communicated to the duke of Burgundy, and had been approved by him. The king concluded with demanding the punishment of those who had discoursed in this manner, and had suggested the writing the letter of which he complained; both which were as contrary to truth, as offensive to his majesty.

The count de Charolois excused himself on account of his vivacity, and the small satisfaction he had had



had had in the affair of the provostships. To this the ambassadors replied, that he ought to know that his majesty had only ceded to him the profits of the demesne, and not the demesne itself, nor any of the royal privileges, the principal of which was the raising of troops.

The count de Charolois saying that he plainly saw the king had no other reasons for his pretensions than his own absolute will, the ambassadors replied with great courage and firmness, and maintained the rights of their master.

The court of Burgundy paid little regard to this prince, being, by the destruction of Dinant, no longer under apprehensions from the Liegeois.

The origin of the war against the Liegeois was occasioned by their revolting against their bishop, Lewis of Bourbon, who was protected by the duke of Burgundy; not only because he was his nephew, the son of Agnes of Burgundy, but also because by his own interest he had got him elected. The duke moreover preserved a lively resentment against the Liegeois, because during the war of the publick good, they had concluded a treaty with the king, and ravaged Hainault.

The inhabitants of Dinant, a town in the territory of Liege, had particularly distinguished themselves by their hatred for the house of Burgundy. They had made effigies of the duke and the count, with injurious inscriptions upon them, which they placed upon their walls, in sight of the inhabitants of Bouvines, which was only separated from Dinant by the Meuse.

Immediately after the termination of the war of the publick good, the duke of Burgundy thought of nothing but how to obtain a signal vengeance upon the inhabitants of Dinant. He offered peace to the Liegeois, on conditions, the principal of which was, that they should abandon the inhabitants of Dinant.

And

And the Liegeois being intimidated at the approaches of his army, were so weak or imprudent as to abandon their allies.

The Dinantois did not appear in the least shaken by it. They entirely depended upon their own courage and the strength of their ramparts, which had maintained several sieges against royal armies. They made the most vigorous resistance, but the at-

tacks were so furious, that the town was  
*Aug. 25.* at last taken by assault. The inhabitants were all put to the sword, except the women and children. The duke Philip, notwithstanding the infirmities of his age, and his natural clemency, caused himself to be carried about in a chair during the siege, and after the town was taken, feasted his eyes with the spectacle of his vengeance. Those who escaped the soldiers' swords, perished by other kinds of deaths; eight hundred of such were presented to the duke, who caused them all in his presence to be drowned in the Meuse. The walls were razed, the houses plundered, and the whole town reduced to ashes.

The Liegeois, ashamed of having betrayed their allies, assembled to the number of thirty-two thousand, in order to march to their assistance; but they arrived only to behold a heap of ashes in the place of a rich and populous city. At sight of this spectacle, a consternation was spread through their whole army. The count would have attacked them, and would certainly have defeated them, had he not been generously inclined to clemency by the constable de St. Pol, who was the less suspected by him, as being come to intercede on the part of the king for the Dinantois; he had nevertheless served in the Burgundian army, and had commanded one of the attacks.

The count de Charolois commanded the Liegeois to pay their bishop six hundred thousand florins;  
 and

and as security for the payment of it, exacted three hundred hostages. We shall see hereafter how this treaty was executed.

Lewis did not depend so much upon the treaty of St. Maur, as not to suspect several of those who had signed it. The duke of Nemours, the count d'Armagnac, and the sire d'Albert were always suspected by him. Perceiving that the marshal de Comminges did not watch their conduct with sufficient attention, he therefore deprived him of the government of Guyenne, and gave it to Philip of Savoy.

Notwithstanding all the misfortunes which are the attendants of war, yet those who were in places, or near the king's person, were afraid of peace. Whenever this prince happened not to be engaged in foreign affairs, his natural inquietude was exercised in the government: his mind could never enjoy a moment's tranquillity, and furnished him with a thousand suspicions. Besides that he was naturally inclined to this, the many different treacheries he had experienced, and which he daily discovered, still more increased his natural diffidence. He imprisoned, in the castle of Usson in Auvergne, Chateauneuf, lord de Lau, who without having ever done him any services, was become his favourite, and had held a secret correspondence with foreigners. He took the government of the Bastille from Claude de Melun; Charles de Melun, his son, was deprived of the post of grand-master, banished to Melun, and soon after made his exit upon a scaffold. The Bastille was given to Hugh de Chavigny lord de Bloc. The government of Languedoc was taken from the earl of Maine and given to the duke of Bourbon. The constable was made captain of Roan and lieutenant-general of Normandy, in the place of Lewis de Brezé; and Poncet de Riviere was deprived of his company of a hundred lances.

All

All these changes not being sufficient to calm the king's suspicions, he appointed commissioners to search for the criminals; and under this pretence, to seize those who had been engaged in the war of the publick good, or in the Party of monsieur.

Dauvet, the first president, had orders to question Morvilliers touching what had passed in his conferences with the patriarch of Jerusalem. Morvilliers denied that he had had any conversation with him; but that he might be out of danger from the king's suspicions, he retired into Bretagne.

The king also gave commission to Saffrey, a German, his lieutenant in Dauphiny, and to John Herbert, to inform themselves of the complaints which should be made in that province against the officers of the parliament; to review the accounts of the aids and taxes; to perform all the functions of the parliament, and the chamber of accounts; and to proceed against the presidents, Peter Gruel, and John Vantes, accused of having been bribed to save a criminal.

Whilst these affairs were transacting in Dauphiny, the king fearing that the duke of Bretagne might hold a correspondence in Touraine, he exacted a new oath of fidelity from that province; a needless precaution, that rather makes perjurers than faithful subjects. The town of Provins was taxed a thousand crowns for not having behaved well during the civil war.

All these proceedings, which had the air of an inquisition, alarmed the minds of the People; they plainly perceived that this strict search made after criminals, was only a pretence to declare all those such, who were any ways suspected: and none dared longer to depend upon the general amnesty, the interpretation of which always depended upon the king's suspicions. The duke of Bourbon took fresh letters of pardon for his vassals. The volunteer  
archers

archers of Normandy, who had followed the king to Paris, demanded the like, lest the disorders which they had committed should be imputed to them, and they treated as criminals, now there was no longer any occasion for their services.

The king refused no pardons to those who asked them of him, looking upon that, which was only the effect of fear, as a vow of fidelity. John d'Albret, viscount de Tartas, obtained one, of which he was very unworthy. The king had for a year kept possession of the little town of Florenee in the county of Gaure: But by the treaty concluded in Bourbonnois, it was given to the viscount de Tartas. The inhabitants, who loved their antient master, shut their gates against him. The viscount forced them, hanged the consuls and principal officers, and gave up the town to be plundered. Those who fled into the churches were massacred at the foot of the altars; and the soldiers, after having loaded themselves with the effects of the inhabitants, set fire to the town, which was reduced to ashes, for having been desirous of remaining under the king's obedience. Such a barbarity certainly merited no favour, yet the king, only considering the services which might be done him by the viscount de Tartas, granted him a pardon, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the parliament of Toulouse.

Lewis gained daily some of his brother's partizans, but was never able to work upon Carbonnel, to whom monsieur had given the government of the isle of Jersey. The count de Maulevrier wrote to him several times in the king's name. Carbonnel only replied, that if his majesty wanted to have Jersey, he must address himself to monsieur. New temptations were made; and places, dignities, and money were offered and refused. Carbonnel being less flattered by the king's offers, than offended that he should be suspected of being capable to betray his duty,

duty, made him this answer: *You have not been able to seduce me, therefore do not hope to corrupt me.* The conduct of Carbonnel was the more generous, as in the situation monsieur was in, there was no other recompence to be hoped for in this action, than the honour of having done it.

Though the differences which subsisted between the king and monsieur turned rather into negotiations than an open war, yet this year was not less fatal to France than the preceding. The open country was ravaged by tempests, and the corn destroyed; the plague, which is the ordinary attendant of famine, made cruel devastations in Paris and the adjacent towns: the soldiers who had been lately disbanded, turned into a company of robbers, and spread themselves upon the highways; committed all sorts of crimes, and laid the villages under contribution. The frightened peasants flying from the country, took refuge in Paris, and by that means augmented the contagion: and nothing was to be seen but misery and mortality. There died no less than forty thousand persons in the two months of August and September only. And to remedy these evils, nothing more was done, than making of processions and carrying about relicks. But as the winter approached, the contagion ceased.

This year was remarkable also for the deaths of the duke of Savoy the queen's father, and Francis Sforza, duke of Milan. The first was only distinguished by the title of sovereign, the power of which was in the hands of Anne of Cyprus, his wife, who filled his house with troubles.

The duke of Milan on the contrary, owed his elevation only to himself; and the meanness of his birth only heightened the eclat of his great qualities. His father, who changed his name of Attendulo for that of Sforza, was a peasant of Cottignole. 'Tis pretended, that seeing one day some soldiers pass through

through the village where he lived, he had a great desire to enlist amongst them; and that not being absolutely determined, he threw his plow-share up into a tree, saying, if it remained there, he should look upon it as a sign of his destination to arms. The plow-share having remained in the tree, Sforza immediately enlisted; and it was not long before he made himself known, passed through all the degrees of the service, and became the most famous partizan in Italy. His courage, his prudence, and his successes, rendered him so celebrated, that he saw himself at the head of seven or eight thousand men, offering his services to any princes that would employ him, and knowing no other home than his camp, nor master than his sword. He undertook the defence of Jane II. queen of Naples, against Alphonso of Arragon, and gained several victories in favour of that queen. Sforza, being in pursuit of a large body of troops, unfortunately sunk into a deep bog, and was drowned.

He left a bastard, named Francis, whom he had by a young woman that followed the army. Francis, being born in a camp, had bore arms from his infancy, and was only twenty years old when his father died. The soldiers of Sforza, being accustomed to liberty and plunder, were incapable of any thing else. Their officers could not have served so advantageously to themselves under any prince as they did under their general Sforza. They perceived it was absolutely necessary they should chuse a chief, in order to restrain the continual debaucheries of the soldiers. All of them pretended a right to the command, and their reciprocal jealousies prevented them from electing any. But this jealousy proved favourable to the young Sforza, who was unanimously elected. And he soon after justified the choice.

Philip Visconty, duke of Milan, being at war with the republick of Genoa, and having neither good soldiers nor experienced officers, he offered the  
command

command of his army to Francis Sforza. Sforza marched into Liguria, defeated the enemies of the duke of Milan, and forced them to sue for peace. The duke's gratitude to Sforza for these services was not such as it ought to have been. The republick of Venice took the opportunity of Sforza's discontent, to attach him to their interests, and employ him against the duke of Milan; but the fear of losing so good a general, produced in the duke what gratitude had not been able to do. The duke had no children except one daughter: he offered her in marriage to Sforza, and for dowry with her, the city and territory of Cremona, with the half of what should be conquered from the Venetians.

Sforza immediately went to Milan, the duke kept his promise, the marriage was concluded, and Sforza saw himself in possession of Cremona, at the head of a powerful army, of which himself was the soul. He marched against the enemy, came up with them near Carravagio, and obtained such a compleat victory, that the army of the republick was not for a long time after able to keep the field.

The duke of Milan dying some time after, Sforza conceived the design of seizing upon that duchy. There were no legitimate male heirs of the house of Visconty. The duke of Orleans and the count d'Angouleme, the natural heirs, had been prisoners at London ever since the battle of Agincourt. The count de Dunois their natural brother, could not represent them, nor take possession of the duchy in their name, because it was absolutely necessary to enter it with a powerful army; and Charles VII. the then reigning emperor, was too much engaged against the English, to undertake another war; besides, Dunois was necessary to him; and when he could have permitted him to go into Italy, he was not able to furnish him with any assistance.

Sforza judged that such a conjuncture was better than



than rights; and that when no other are to be shewn, they may be founded by the sword. The enterprize was not without difficulty; but in fine nothing was required but courage and money. Sforza was sufficiently known for his courage, and Comus de Medicis, the richest private person in Europe, lent him fifty thousand crowns, with which he gained the Milanese troops whom he commanded. They took the oaths of fidelity to him, and turned their arms against their country. The whole Milanese submitted to the conqueror, as much from admiration of his great qualities, as through fear of his arms; the capital alone at first refused to receive him and maintained an obstinate siege, but was at last obliged to capitulate. The new duke, instead of following those cruel maxims which raise and destroy usurpers, was very moderate in his victory. He strengthened by his wisdom, the power which he had acquired by his sword. The Milanese accustomed themselves insensibly to regard as their lawful sovereign, a man who had all the good qualities of one. And Sforza soon saw himself beloved by his subjects, respected by his neighbours, and the arbiter of Italy.

Charles VII. was unable to defend the rights of the house of Orleans. And Lewis XI. was still less favourable to that house for another reason: he feared the princes of the blood, and hated the count de Dunois, and all those who had any credit under the preceding reign; wherefore far from declaring against Francis Sforza, he concluded an alliance with him, and even ceded to him the city of Savona, and all the rights of the French upon the state of Genoa. Sforza was so sensible of the honour and advantages conferred on him by the king, that he ever after remained the most faithful of his allies.

Margaret duchess of Estempes, mother of the duke of Bretagne, died in the month of April this year.

John

John de Montauban, admiral and grand master of the waters and forests of France, died this year also; and his place of Admiral was given to the bastard of Bourbon, and that of grand master, to Lewis de Laval, seignior de Chatillon.

Don Pedro of Portugal, whom the Catalans had chose for their prince in 1464, and who far from answering their expectations, had lost most of the towns in Catalonia, died this year at Barcelona. The Catalans, being willing to have a prince worthy to command, and capable to defend them, chose René of Anjou, king of Naples, who by his birth had incontestable rights to the crown of Arragon, being, by Yolande his mother, the grandson of John I. king of Navarre.

The ambassadors of the Catalans came to René at Angers, and besought him to go immediately into Catalonia, or else send thither the duke of Calabria his son. John II. king of Arragon, was greatly surpris'd at this election, by which he gained a very powerful enemy. René had in France the duchy of Bar and the earldoms of Anjou and Provence. The duke of Calabria possessed the duchy of Lorraine in right of his mother. On the other side, the count de Foix was entered into Navarre. The king of Arragon demanded assistance from all parts; but his great resource was in his son Ferdinand, who at the age of fourteen years appeared at the head of his father's armies, and already shewed that capacity which afterwards rendered him so illustrious.

In the mean time Lewis appeared to *Septem.* be wholly engaged in a desire of reconciliation with his brother, and by that means to procure repose to the kingdom. He wrote to the towns, to the nobility, princes of the blood, and even to the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, to desire them to inform the commissioners appointed for the reformation of the kingdom, of such

such abuses as they might know, in order to have them redressed. This commission, which flattered the expectations of the people, served the king for a pretence to be revenged on the principal authors of the war of the publick good, and more particularly on those who had served him ill.

The count de Charolois sent the marshal of Burgundy, Ferry de Cluny, *October.* and John de Carondelet, in quality of ambassadors, to answer the king's complaints; the principal of which regarded the calumnies cast upon his majesty, and the detention of Saint Maure, sieur de Nefle. But besides these, complaint was made also that the count had seized the estates of those lords of Picardy and Ponthieu, who had refused to pay him fealty and homage; that he had compelled them to bear arms out of the kingdom without the consent of the king their sovereign; that he had obstructed the levies of men and money for the king in the provostships of Beauvoisis and St. Quintin; that the salt of Salins had been introduced into the Maconnois, in prejudice of the king's rights in the salt of Pecais; and that he had prevented the appeals of Flanders, and the exercise of justice by the magistrates of Tournay.

The ambassadors of the count de Charolois disavowed the calumnies of which the king complained, and maintained that Saint Maure was subject to the duke of Burgundy. They said that the king having ceded the towns upon the Somme with their territory, therefore the count de Charolois with reason pretended to the right of fealty and homage from the vassals; that the aids of the ceded provostships being expressly specified in the cession, therefore the king could no longer pretend to lay taxes nor raise troops in them; and that his majesty had verbally given leave for the salt of Salins, or the salt of Pecais, to be indifferently used in the Maconnois.

The king laid the ambassadors memorial before the commissioners appointed *March 29.* for the reformation of the state. The *1467.* count de Dunois, after having examined their respective titles, pronounced; That the lands of Picardy having only been ceded to the count de Charolois for him to enjoy them as the duke his father did, in virtue of the treaty of Arras, he could not therefore require the fealty and homage of the vassals, because these lands were ceded only with a power of redemption, conformable to the laws of the kingdom, which forbid all alienation of the crown lands; and the homage which the sire de Croy had paid to his majesty for his lands in Picardy, was a plain proof that the fealty and homage were due to the king alone; that the count could not pretend to raise money or troops in the provostships of Beauvoisis; that he had pretended, in order to prevent all disputes, only to demand three villages, though the pretended cession comprehended more than twenty-five leagues of country. The commissioners then reproached the ambassadors, that with regard to St. Quintin, the copy of the very title they had presented, was not conformable to the original; they added, that the count abused the permission given at Hesdin in 1463, to use indifferently the salt of Salins, or Pecais in the Maconnois, by obliging his subjects to use that of Salins only. Concerning the detention and confiscation of the estates of Saint Maure, the commissioners maintained, that the lordship of Nesse had never been dependant upon the earldome of Flanders; that the count de Charolois could only look upon it as conquered, and that by the treaty of Conflans each being to re-enter in possession of his estates, therefore Nesse, Beaulieu, and the other lands of Saint Maure were unjustly detained.

Lewis not in the least doubting but the count de Charolois would refuse to conform to the sentiments

of

of the commissioners, and fearing to see himself engaged in a new war, sent Paris, counsellor in parliament, to prevent the duke of Bretagne, and at the same time endeavour to penetrate the subject of the negotiations which he carried on in England. The duke of Bretagne wrote to the count de Dunois, to desire him to assure the king, that his only endeavour was to maintain peace; that he would enter into no engagements with England contrary to the interests of France, and that he would engage his brother the count de Charolois to give his majesty satisfaction.

Whilst Lewis was negotiating with the duke of Bretagne, the duke of Savoy endeavoured to form a league against France. A treaty was concluded at Utrecht between the king of Denmark, the duke of Bretagne, and the count de Charolois; in which monsieur was included. The king, who suspected, or was informed of these confederacies, neglected nothing to gain himself allies. He had persons in all the courts of Europe to inform him of such designs as might be carrying on against him; but knowing his most dangerous enemies might be within his kingdom, he distributed his troops in the provinces adjoining to Burgundy and Bretagne, and gave the most prudent directions for their discipline. The king, that his subjects might not be exposed to the outrages of the soldiers, was also obliged to raise fresh supplies for the payment of his troops. These taxes caused great murmurings. Saint Amand, a small town of Bourbonnois, having revolted, was severely punished. Lewis was inflexibly rigorous against every thing which might prejudice his authority. He removed the parliament of Toulouse to Montpellier for having opposed some orders with which Geoffrey de Chabannes, lieutenant-general of Languedoc, had been charged.

At this time died at Coignac, John *April 30.* count d'Angoulême, furnamed the good; a title seldom given to princes, though not refused by mankind to those who truly merit it. Cotemporary persons are excessive in their elogies, but posterity does justice.

The king was in continual inquietudes, occasioned by the count de Charolois going through all the towns of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, to engage them to furnish him with money. He was not ignorant, that so long as his brother was in Bretagne, he would serve as a pretence for the confederacies of his enemies and the discontented. Wherefore he did his utmost to engage him to return to court; he offered him Roussillon or lower Dauphiny, and promised to augment the revenues of his appennage to sixty thousand livres. But mon-sieur constantly persisted in demanding Normandy. The king, not being able to prevail with his brother, addressed himself to the duke of Bretagne, but without any effect.

What the king most apprehended was, lest the count de Charolois and the duke of Bretagne should enter into confederacy with the king of England; wherefore he pressed the earl of Warwick to conclude a peace between the two crowns.

The earl of Warwick, in placing the crown of England upon the head of Edward, had reserved the authority to himself. Edward loved glory, but being given to pleasure, and importuned by affairs, he was not so much a prince as an hero; he resigned the care of the government to the earl, as much from necessity as through gratitude; so that the English were accustomed to look upon Edward as their king, and Warwick as their master. The difference of their characters might long have maintained their union: and to strengthen it still more, Warwick undertook to marry Edward to Bonne of Savoy,

Savoy, that so the king and queen might be both of his own making: But just when Edward had given his consent, and the marriage was ready to be concluded, this prince became enamoured of Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of lord Rivers, and widow of sir John Gray. This cunning woman, too wise to be flattered by the title of the king's mistress, and ambitious enough to entertain a desire of reigning, engaged Edward to marry her. From that moment the queen disposed of all favours. Rivers, being now the king's father-in-law, was made constable and treasurer of England; and all employments were filled by men who had no other pretence to them than their interest. At last the English, who were discontented with Edward's marriage, rose against the government; even those who had no other reason to complain than their jealousy of the new favourites, entered into the party of the malecontents. Warwick, more incensed than any one, because the king was beholden to him for every thing, beheld his credit daily decline and give place to that of Rivers. It was not long before he perceived his presence was disagreeable at court, and that Edward had offended him too much not to hate him; but as it is dangerous to make ones self feared by a master, and as it is not less so, when ones master is ungrateful for our having done him too great services, Warwick resolved to dissemble, that he might make sure of his revenge, gain himself a party, and be strengthened by the protection of France. He embraced an opportunity which soon after presented. Coulon, a French vice-admiral, had rendered himself formidable at sea, and disturbed the commerce of the English. Warwick represented, that it was necessary he should go into France in order to find some means of reconciliation; and he the more easily obtained what he demanded, as his enemies only sought to have him at a distance from court.

Upon the first news of Warwick's  
*May 27.* departure, Lewis repaired to Roan, and hearing that the earl was landed at Honfleur, he sent persons to meet him, and came himself as far as Bouille to receive him. Warwick had the honour of dining with him, and in the afternoon made his entry into Roan. Greater honours could not have been paid to the king of England himself, than those that were paid to his minister. He was lodged in a house adjoining to the king, who caused a door of communication to be made between the two houses, that he might confer with him with the greater privacy. They were together for eight days successively: but as I have nothing amongst my memoirs concerning the subject of their conferences, I will not pretend to make conjectures; but confine myself to facts alone. It seems probable, that the king was contented with the interview, because in requital of the reception which the inhabitants of Roan had given the earl  
*June 13.* of Warwick, he by letters patent gave them leave to possess noble fiefs.

When the conferences were ended, the king left Roan; and in a few days after Warwick embarked. The bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France, Popincourt, Contressant, and Oliver le Roux went to England with him, in quality of ambassadors. From the time of their landing, to their arrival, not a single person came to meet them; Edward even received them very coldly, and after having heard the subject of their commission, barely replied, that he would appoint persons with whom they might confer upon the affairs with which they were charged: after this he dismissed them, and immediately set out for Windsor. Warwick was so provoked at the poor reception given the ambassadors, that upon their return, he could not refrain from  
telling



telling them, that the king was furrounded entirely by a company of traitors.

Edward stayed six weeks at Windsor; and during his absence, the earl of Warwick endeavoured by all sorts of means to repair the cold reception given the ambassadors. The duke of Clarence paid them a visit, in which the conversation turning upon bad government, and Warwick remarking this prince's jealousy of the queen's relations, told him, that nothing else was now to be done, but to make him king. The duke, being persuaded that Warwick could undertake every thing, demanded of him his daughter in marriage; and the earl gave her to him as a pledge of his offers. The marriage was soon after concluded near Calais, where Warwick had retired with his son-in-law, waiting an opportunity to put his designs in execution. The ambassadors, less piqued at Edward's behaviour than pleased at having sowed the seeds of a civil war in England, returned into France.

Lewis at his return from Roan, was informed of the death of the duke of Burgundy\*. This prince left four hundred thousand crowns in gold specie, seventy-two thousand marks of silver in vessels, and upwards of two millions in other effects; all which his son soon after dissipated by his foolish enterprizes.

Lewis was too well acquainted with the genius of the new duke of Burgundy, to imagine he would long live peaceably with him; wherefore the army was got in readiness. Aubert, Capdorat, and Rusec de Balzac, who commanded the volunteer archers of Champagne, Normandy, and Limousin, had orders to assemble them. The nobility and gentry of Normandy and Poitou were assembled, and companies of soldiers were distributed in the provinces. Dammartin, whom the king had lately appointed

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\* Philip the good died at Bruges the 15th of June 1467.

grand-master of his household, had the command upon the frontiers of Picardy and Champagne.

Charles duke of Burgundy, far from acquiescing in the judgment of the commissioners, formed new complaints. Other subjects of divisions happened also, occasioned by the inhabitants of Meufon and Ivoy, who had had an engagement with each other. Upon the complaints which the king made of it, the duke of Burgundy, to whom Ivoy belonged, wrote to his majesty, promised to do him justice immediately, and desired him to do the same with regard to those of Mouson. The king sent Dammartin orders to go thither, but as the Liegeois had assisted the inhabitants of Mouson in their quarrel, Dammartin had private orders to use menaces rather than actual force, for fear of discontenting the Liegeois. This order was more pernicious than even the crime that was to be punished. The chief of those that were culpable, being frightened at Dammartin's approach, fled into the woods, burning the villages and massacring all whom they met in their way; the labourers abandoned the country, and the navigation of the Meuse was not more secure than the high roads; thus the king, for a particular interest, neglected upon this occasion his own promise and the publick good. Dammartin, naturally just and severe, wrote him his opinion of it, and for answer received orders to go with the bishop of Langres to negotiate an accommodation between the duke of Burgundy and the Liegeois. The constable had been charged with the same commission; but he had behaved with a pride that shocked the duke's natural haughtiness, and undisposed him to a peace.

During the negotiation at the court of Burgundy, the Liegeois made themselves masters of the town of Huy, which refused to contribute towards the expenses of the war, on pretence that it belonged to their

their bishop. The Liegeois found this bishop in the town with Imbercourt; whom, being a subject of the duke of Burgundy, they released without ransom; and to shew they only desired peace, they paid their bishop all the honours which they owed him as their sovereign.

The duke of Burgundy looking upon the taking of Huy as an infraction of the treaty, assembled a council to deliberate what he should do with the three hundred hostages the Liegeois had given him the preceding year. Contay, and several others, were for having them all put to death; but Imbercourt, through gratitude, humanity, and for the honour of his prince, represented, that so cruel an action would turn both God and man against him; and that to carry on a war with glory, and even with success, it was necessary to abstain from all barbarous vengeance. This advice was followed, and the hostages were released, after being warned, that if any of them were taken in arms, they must expect no favour.

The king sent the cardinal Balue, accompanied by one of the pope's legates, to make fresh instances to the duke of Burgundy; but they did not succeed better than the constable. Commines says this last told the duke, that he could not make war upon the Liegeois, because they were the allies of France; and that he ought not to take it ill if the king declared war against the duke of Bretagne. The duke of Burgundy, being just mounting his horse, told the ambassadors aloud, that he desired the king would not undertake any thing against Bretagne; to which the constable replied: *my lord, you do not chuse at all, for you take every thing, make war upon our friends at your pleasure, and keep us in peace without our daring to fall upon our enemies, as you do upon yours: but it cannot be, for the king will never suffer*

*it. The duke replied; the Liegeois are assembled, and expect me to give battle in less than three days; if I am victorious, you will let the Britons remain in peace; but if I am not, you will then do as you think proper.*

A cotemporary writer relates the above after a different manner. He says the constable was sent by the king to demand of the duke of Burgundy, 1. The restitution of the towns upon the Somme; 2. To declare that the city and territory of Liege were under the king's protection, and that if the Liegeois had failed in their duty, they were ready to make satisfaction for it; 3. To desire the duke not to espouse the sister of Edward, because he could not enter into alliance with England, without infringing the treaty of Arras. To the first of these articles the duke replied, that the towns upon the Somme had been ceded to him by advice of the peers, and he would keep them; that this was not a sufficient satisfaction for the murder of duke John his uncle; and that if the king made two steps into his country, he would take four into the king's. To the second article he replied, that he knew very well how to reduce the Liegeois to reason, notwithstanding those who should endeavour to support them. Concerning the alliance with England, he said he should never have thought of it, had not the king addressed the English first; that he had now given his word, and could not with honour go from it. The duke afterwards looking upon the constable; *Cousin*, said he to him, *you are my very good friend, and parting I warn you to take care the king does not by you, as he has done by others; and you will do very well to remain on this side.*

The pope's legate, who had accompanied Balue, instead of returning with him, went into the duke's army, and from thence sent out mandates ordering publick prayers, to beg of heaven the prosperity of the arms of Burgundy.

The duke Charles having put himself at the head of his army assembled under Louvain, entered into the territory of Liege, and laid siege to Saint Tron. The Liegeois marched to make him raise it; and the two armies meeting near Bruyfflein, they gave battle to each other. The Liegeois were entirely defeated, with the loss of their artillery and baggage; night coming on, prevented their being all cut to pieces. Saint Tron surrendered two days after. The walls were razed, the fosses filled up, and the raising of any fortifications for the future absolutely prohibited. The inhabitants purchased their lives and fortunes for twenty thousand florins, and obliged themselves to pay annually two hundred livres. The duke caused ten of those who had been most active against him to be beheaded, amongst whom were six of the hostages he had pardoned.

*Oct. 23.*

*Oct. 28.*

*Nov. 1.*

The loss of the battle, the taking, and the punishment of Saint Tron, threw Liege into great consternation, and raised divisions amongst the inhabitants. Imbercourt being approached near Liege, with some of the hostages whom gratitude had attached to him, he sent them into the town, where they persuaded the most prudent of them, to implore the duke's clemency. This advice was followed, three hundred of the most considerable of the inhabitants came out of the town in their shirts, and delivered the keys of their city to the duke, submitting themselves to every thing, except fire and plunder.

The duke entered Liege sword in hand, and put to death ten of the hostages who had taken up arms. The walls of the town of Liege were demolished, and the country plundered and loaded with taxes. Thus the bishop, to satisfy his private resentment, brought

brought his subjects into slavery, because they had not been willing to let him be their tyrant.

I am obliged here to expose the errors or infincerity of some Flemish authors, and particularly of Meyer, a misinformed and partial historian. He says, that Lewis XI. had sent the Liegeois a succour of four hundred launces and six thousand archers, under the command of Dammartin, and that they were defeated. The silence of Commines and Olivier de la Marche, might alone be a sufficient refutation of this; but we have the very letters of Dammartin and the bishop of Langres, which say positively, that the reason which prevented their going to Liege, was because they would not bring troops into the town with them, without which they would not have been well received. Meyer says farther, that Lewis XI. caused the earl of Warwick to come to Roan to treat with him in consequence of the victory which the duke of Burgundy had gained over the Liegeois. The records prove on the contrary, that Warwick came to Roan, and returned from thence in the month of June; whereas the battle was not fought till the 28th of the next October. There are many other errors which might be corrected; but these are sufficient to shew, that even cotemporary authors are not always to be so much depended upon, as an history wrote from authentick memoirs and publick records.

Whilst Lewis was putting the frontiers of his kingdom in a posture of defence, he sought a means to re-people Paris, which the war and the plague had deprived of the greatest part of its inhabitants. In order to ascertain the number of those who remained, he ordered that each company of Merchants or Tradesmen should have its banner; that the ecclesiasticks, the parliament, the chamber of accounts, and all belonging to the law, should have their standards; and that all those who were able to bear

bear arms, should put on a military habit in order to pass in review. The chief men of the city were afterwards assembled, of which the principal were the president Boulanger, Livres and Milet, counsellors in parliament, Clerbout, master-general of the Mint, Rebours, attorney-general, Laurent, Robert, Hacqueville, and several other merchants. The king heard them in his council, and in consequence of their advice published letters patent, giving leave to all persons of what nation or condition soever, to establish themselves at Paris, in freedom and safety, let their crimes be what they would, excepting high-treason. The king and the queen, having passed the summer in Chartain, returned to Paris, where they were received with all possible demonstrations of joy. They *Septemb.* dined and supped at the houses of several private persons, and 'tis observed in history, that wherever they were invited, baths were prepared for them.

The king having resolved to see the inhabitants of Paris pass in review before him, he ranged them near the gate of St. Anthony along the river, as far as Conflans. There appeared to be seventy banners, and about the same number of standards, making in the whole eighty thousand men, amongst whom were thirty thousand who bore arms. The king appeared pleased with his review; nevertheless he could not help saying to Crussal, that in day of battle he should not depend much upon them. Their behaviour in the war of the publick good, ought to have given him another idea of them.

This review, and the orders which the king gave to the companies of ordinance to be ready to march upon the first notice, shews that he suspected the combinations forming against him. In effect, the duke of Alençon having concluded a treaty with monsieur and the duke of Bretagne, delivered the  
castle

castle of Alençon to the Britons, who soon made themselves masters of Caen, Bayeux, and all lower Normandy. The town of Saint Lo alone remained faithful. A woman, whose name ought to have been preserved in history, gave the alarm, assembled the townsmen, took up arms, marched against the Britons, defeated them, and killed several of them with her own hand. Lewis passing some years after through St. Lo, saw this heroine, and gave her twenty crowns in gold; a recompence as unworthy of the prince as of the service. The town of Saint Lo had distinguished itself before under Charles VII. and was one of the first that threw off the yoke of the English. It has always been commendable for its piety, fidelity to its prince, industry, and talents for commerce: qualities which render a town valuable to a state. Lewis, in acknowledgement of the services of the inhabitants, settled a pious foundation in their principal church, according to the custom of that time.

As soon as the king was informed of the entrance of the Britons into Normandy, he dispatched couriers to the king of Sicily, the earl of Maine, and the constable. He sent Loheac to the admiral at Saint Lo, caused the volunteer archers to march towards Alençon, and gave orders for forming the siege of it.

Whilst the king was engaged against the dukes of Bretagne and Alençon, the least diversion which the duke of Burgundy might have made on his side, would have assured the conquest of Normandy to the Britons; but duke Charles, upon whom these princes depended the most, signed a truce with the king for six months. Every body was surprized at this, and made their conjectures upon it. It is generally supposed, that princes do nothing without reasonable motives; but we may suppose on the contrary, that having their passions and caprices like  
 other



other men, which they are not so much obliged to constrain, they may therefore more frequently act unaccountably. Our ignorance of the motives which determine them, is sometimes a veil favourable to their glory.

The Britons soon began to look upon themselves in Normandy as in a conquered country. They burnt the suburbs of Alençon, seized upon the most valuable effects of the citizens, and when the dukes and the count du Perche complained of it, they threatened to turn them out. On the other side, the king caused the city to be invested, and marched troops from all quarters, *Decemb.* in order to crush the rebels. The count du Perche, judging he could not do better than soften the king by his submission, communicated his design to the principal inhabitants, who gained the rest. The enterprize was conducted with such prudence, that the Britons were driven out of Alençon, and the king entered it without the loss of a man. The rebels were seized with such a panic, that the king might have gained greater advantages over the Britons, had he not been afraid to continue a war, which perhaps he might not have been able to put an end to when he should have a mind.

*The End of the FOURTH BOOK.*

**T H E**

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
LEWIS XI.

BOOK V.

1468.

**E**VER since Lewis XI. had made peace with the authors of the war of the publick good, he had been obliged to keep continually upon his guard against their enterprizes, and sign truces alternately with some of them, in order to defend himself against the others; by which means, though their designs gave him a deal of trouble, their ill success alone was sufficient to render them abortive.

The king having concluded a truce  
*Jan. 1.* with the duke of Burgundy, during the irruption of the Britons, he now concluded another with these last, and their allies, that he might the more easily observe the motions of the duke, who had caused his troops to advance towards Saint Quintin. It was agreed, that neither side should extend the limits of their territories beyond the towns which each were in possession of, and of which they received the revenues; that monsieur should enjoy the demesnes of Domfront and Pouanca; that the king should pay him for his maintenance till the month of June, sixteen thousand livres, half of which should be paid immediately; that the clergy should re-enter into possession of their  
their

their benefices, the lords of their lands, and that the liberty of Commerce should be restored. The duke of Alençon not having thought proper to accept letters of pardon, the king granted two declarations in favour of the count du Perche. The first confirmed to him the possession of his father's estates, and the other gave him the government of them. The king's jealousy was but too well founded, for at the very time when the duke of Burgundy signed this truce, he sent Romilli his vice-chancellor, and du Breuil constable of Rennes to London, *April 2.* who concluded a treaty with Edward, by which, in renewing the antient alliances between England and Bretagne, Edward engaged himself to furnish the duke with three thousand archers, to be employed against the king; and whatever towns they should take, were to be put in the king of England's possession, who was to defray the expences of the war. Thus no sooner was one treaty made, than it was endeavoured to be evaded by another; and they engaged and broke their faith in the most shameful manner.

The more treaties are multiplied, the less do they establish security and confidence; nor do negotiations at all contribute to quiet peoples minds: the king was only the more attentive for them, to what passed in foreign courts. He was informed of the affairs of England by Meny Peny his ambassador, who sent him advice, that a more formidable league than the first was forming against France; that the king of Naples and the earl of Maine had entered into it; that all the princes of the blood and the foreigners were for absolutely fixing the appennage of monsieur; that the king of England was the least inclined to favour the league, and said, that monsieur was but a fool, who did nothing of himself, served for a pretence to the ambition of others, and did not merit any ones concerning himself in his affairs; that

that the English were not inclined towards the duke of Burgundy; and that if the marriage between him and the princess Margaret could be prevented, they would declare themselves against him. Meny Peny also informed the king of the factions which divided the ministry. The partizans of Rivers rendered themselves daily more hated; and Warwick, their declared enemy, refused to return to court, so long as they should be there; the officers of the army in general offered him their services, and he appeared to be in the interest of France.

Lewis judging he had nothing to fear from Edward, prepared himself against the intestine enemies of the kingdom. He gave orders for all gentlemen to hold themselves in readiness to march. He desired the duke of Bourbon to come and assist with his counsels, in the states which were to be assembled; to put the city of Moulins in a state of defence before his departure, and oblige the duchess dowager to quit it, because she held a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy her nephew, and was always ready to favour the rebels. Lewis fearing that the duke would not obey, had before given orders to the constable of Saintonge, to seize upon the duchess dowager; and to Roger constable of Lyons, to seize upon Peter Encise, and deprive Oudille des Estoies, who had been in the league of the publick good, of his government.

During these transactions, Gaston count de Foix came to the king, and offered to serve him against all his enemies, but particularly against monsieur and the duke of Bretagne, Galeas duke of Milan renounced all alliances contrary to the interests of the king, engaged himself to take up arms upon the first orders of this prince, and said, at sending him his seal, that he was more engaged to him through gratitude, than by the seal which he sent him. The king, to requite the zeal of Galeas, ratified with him.

him all the treaties which had been made with the late duke, gave him leave to call himself of the house of France, and to bear its arms quartered with those of Milan.

The house of Savoy was not under less obligations to the king: he had maintained the late duke in his dominions, loaded him with favours, married and gave dowries to all the daughters of that house, and made scarce any difference between them and his own. Nevertheless, ever since the death of the duke Lewis, Amedeus his son, the duchess Yolande, the king's sister, and Philip count de Bresse, to whom he had given the government of Guyenne, had entered into all the alliances formed against France. Lewis plainly saw that the seeds of war would always remain, and that he could never depend upon any treaties, so long as his brother should be in Bretagne. In order to deprive the discontented of all sort of pretence, he resolved to assemble the states, and let them settle the appennage of monsieur. The states at that time were very little like the parliament assembled annually under the first and second race, which were composed only of the chief clergy and nobility. The third state, formerly in slavery, afterwards powerful, and useful at all times, did not begin to be formed till under Lewis le Gros. The succeeding kings raised it, and made use of it as a counterpoise to the two others. Philip the fair was the first \* who consulted the three states separately, to have their advice concerning his disputes with pope Boniface VIII. And in 1355, they were all assembled together.

In the administration of a state, 'tis certainly right to consult those who hold the chief employments in it; it is sufficient that they are men and members

\* At least there is no proof that it had ever been practised before.

members of the republick, which are qualities superior to those usurped by pride and power.

That advantage has not always been reaped from the three states, which one might naturally expect of them. Sometimes these assemblies were tumultuous, and their actions not answerable to the uprightness of their intentions. Whether the kings had endeavoured to extend their authority too far, or whether the states, by disputing the right which they thought they had of balancing the power of the kings, had abused their own, 'tis certain, that it was long before these assemblies were of any service. Thus liberty is equally destroyed by licentiousness and usurpation. The assemblies of the states, instead of remedying disorders, were sometimes the first cause of them, because the nobles in these assemblies, perceived their own strength, and the power they had to form conspiracies.

Lewis XI. was the first prince who knew how to make a right use of the states; this was not the least stroke of his policy; he knew they were not less the defenders of lawful authority, than a counterpoise to arbitrary power; and he had the prudence not to assemble them but when the factious and discontented carried their enterprizes to excess, and no longer distinguished the monarchy from the monarch. The states flattered themselves he would have recourse to them, and their zeal was as much animated through gratitude, as maintained by justice. Lewis XI. was besides attentive to the choosing of the deputies, and when he had made himself sure of certain suffrages, he dictated, as one may say, the decisions of an assembly, to whose determinations he appeared to submit, though they had nothing more than the power of deliberating. This

*April.*

was his behaviour with regard to the states that were assembled at Tours. The chancellor opened it with an elogy upon

upon the king and the nation. He praised the fidelity of the people, the confidence of the king, and the reciprocal love between the prince and people. He exposed the divisions caused by the factious; exclaimed with great warmth and energy against the cabals of those who made use of monfieur as a veil to their ambition, and shewed the danger the kingdom would be in, should Normandy be separated from the crown: on one side the charges of the state could not be defrayed, and on the other, France would be laid open to its enemies.

When the chancellor had finished his speech, the king retired, that he might not appear to curb the liberty of the suffrages. Then John Juvenal des Ursins was the next that spoke: he enlarged upon the obedience due to the sovereign, and the reciprocal obligations of the prince and subjects. He did not conceal the abuses which reigned in the army, administration of justice, the finances, and commerce. He exclaimed against luxury, and forgot to mention nothing which ought to come under the consideration of the assembly. The justice of the king's demands were evident; it was easily perceived, that if Normandy no longer contributed towards the expences of the state, additional taxes must necessarily be imposed upon the rest of the kingdom: thus the publick and private interests were united.

The states began by thanking the king for the confidence which he appeared to repose in them, and made him protestations of sacrificing their lives and fortunes in his service. They afterwards declared, that Normandy was inseparably united and annexed to the crown; that the king might insist upon the declaration of Charles V. which ordained, that the sons of France should have no more than twelve thousand livres a year land revenue, which should be erected into a duchy or earldom; but his majesty having offered his brother Charles sixty-

thousand

thousand livres a year, he should be desired to let it be with a clause, that it might not serve for a future example; because if our kings should have several children, which was to be desired, and such considerable appennages were to be given them, the revenues of the crown would be exhausted; that the duke of Burgundy should be told, that he ought, in quality of prince of the blood, and first peer of France, to conform to the decisions of the states; that the duke of Bretagne was highly criminal for having declared war against the king, and for having seized upon several towns in Normandy; that if it was certain that he had concluded a league with the English, with design to introduce them into the kingdom, and if he persevered in his criminal alliances, the states then offered the king all the assistance that he could expect from the most faithful subjects. They farther declared, that if monsieur or the duke of Bretagne dared to commit hostilities against the king, his majesty ought to proceed against them. With regard to the abuses hinted at, the king cast them upon the authors of the civil war; and to convince the states of the uprightness of his intentions, he desired they would themselves name the commissioners for the reformation of these abuses.

Kings, especially in France, are always sure of the hearts of their subjects. The whole states with one voice immediately returned the king thanks; and renewed their protestations of shedding their blood for his service. They immediately elected for commissioners, the cardinal Balue, the counts d'Eu and Dunois, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishop of Rheims, the bishops of Langres and Paris, the sire de Torcy, one of the officers of king René, with the deputies of Paris, Roan, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Tournay, and Toulouse; and some of the justiciaries of Beaucaine, Carcasonne, and lower Normandy. These commissioners, in concert with those whom  
the



the king was still to appoint, were ordered to notify the resolutions of the states, to monsieur and the duke of Bretagne, and to endeavour to ease the people.

The states being separated, the constable, the bishop of Langres, the earl of Tankerville, the first president Dauvet, and Cousinot, Bailiff of Montpellier, repaired to Cambray, where conferences were held concerning the disputes between the king and the duke of Burgundy. From thence they went to the duke, and remonstrated to him, that the only means of giving peace to the kingdom, and to all christendom, was to acquiesce in the resolutions of the states. This prince at first gave the ambassadors but an indifferent reception; but the king having caused copies of his proposals, with the duke's answers, to be wrote, he communicated them to the whole kingdom by a circular letter, and set forth the necessity of being always armed, seeing there was no hopes of peace, and that the truce was upon the point of expiring.

The duke of Burgundy upon this considering that all France would unite against him, prolonged the truce for two months, on condition that the king should pay four thousand livres a month to monsieur, till such time as the appennage should be settled. This truce, signed at Bruges by *May 26.* the duke and the constable, contained a remarkable clause; which was, that either party should be free to break it the 22d of June, provided that the duke signified it to the constable, and the king to the bailiffs of Amiens.

Whilst the king's ambassadors were at Bruges, the duke held a chapter of the order of the Golden Fleece, before which the earl of Nevers was cited to appear, *and answer upon his honour concerning several cases of sorcery in abusing the sacraments of the church.* The earl of Nevers, instead of appearing, sent his collar of the order. The nature of the offence  
shows

shews at once the hatred which subsisted between these two princes, and the simplicity of those times, which nevertheless did not prevent the depravation of manners.

At this time came on at Poitiers, the trial of a man named Deshayes, who had accused Dennis Saubonne of having been gained by the duke of Bretagne to poison the king. After the most strict examination Deshayes was condemned as a calumniator. From hence it appears, that the hatred of the duke of Bretagne was publick, since it gave occasion to such accusations as these.

Lewis, surrounded with open and secret enemies, was entirely engaged in the care of avoiding war, dissipating cabals, and re-establishing peace amongst his allies. Amedeus duke of Savoy, and Galeas, duke of Milan, having made reciprocal complaints of several hostilities, he undertook to bring them to an accommodation, by making the duke of Milan espouse Bonne of Savoy, the reigning duke's sister. Galeas had before proposed this marriage; but the late duke of Savoy had opposed it. After his death, Galeas sent Nardinis archbishop of Milan into France, to get the king to renew this affair. Nardinis was at once ambassador of Milan and legate of the pope; from whence it seems probable that the legates were not so considerable in France then, as they have been since. Tristan, the natural brother of Galeas, Jacomo, and Panigarola, came afterwards to demand the princess of Savoy, who lived with, and had been educated under the king's care.

His majesty settled the article, and the *May 10.* ceremony of the marriage was performed at Amboise by cardinal Balue, in presence of the king and queen; Agnes of Burgundy, duchess dowager of Bourbon; the duchess of Bourbon, the king's sister; and of Charles of Bourbon, archbishop of Lyons.

A short time after, the duke of Burgundy espoused Margaret of York, the king of England's sister; and at the same time the duke of Bretagne concluded a treaty of commerce and alliance defensive and offensive, with the English, against France. The king did not fail to send the archbishop of Lyons to compliment the duke Charles upon his marriage, and Guyot Pot, governor of Blois, to prolong the truce (which was to expire the 15th) till the 31st of July: At the same time that he received advice of the prolongation of this truce, he also received advice that monsieur and the duke of Bretagne were advancing towards Normandy; he immediately ordered the marquiss du Pont, son of the duke of Calabria, to cause the ban and the arrier-ban of Saintonge, Poitou, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine, to advance, with the volunteer archers, in order to act with vigour against the Britons, as soon as the truce should be expired.

Measures were so well taken, that at the expiration of the truce, the admiral caused a party of the Britons commanded by Couvran to be attacked; and they were defeated and taken Prisoners near St. Lo. The French taking advantage of this success, made themselves masters of Gauray, Vire, Bayeux, Coutances, and all the other places which the Britons had taken in Normandy, except Caen, into which place Miraumont and Rabodanges threw themselves with a company of Burgundians. On the other side the marquiss du Pont entered Bretagne, took Chantocéau, and laid siege to Ancenis. The king, who had reason to be displeased with Antonietta de Maignelais, \* widow of the sire de Ville-

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M

quier

\* She was daughter of Tristan II. lord de Maignelais, and after the death of her cousin Agnes Sorel, was beloved by Charles VII. This prince afterwards married  
her

quier, and mistress to the duke of Bretagne, took this opportunity of shewing her his resentment. As it was usual with him to gain those to his interests, who had any power over the minds of the princes with whom he treated, he had neglected nothing to gain over the lady of Villequier, and she was even not forgot in the secret articles of the treaty of Saint Maur. Nevertheless, far from being favourable to France, she had constantly resisted Tanneguy du Chatel, grand-master of the duke's household, who endeavoured to persuade her to favour the king's interests. He even dared, without any other interest than that of the glory of his master, to represent to him, that his mistress ought to be concerned in his pleasures, and not in his affairs; but he soon experienced that the services of a faithful subject are not an equal balance to the wiles of a mistress: he was obliged to withdraw himself, and go into the service of the king.

Lewis, charmed at having an opportunity of attaching to his interests a man generally esteemed, made him general and governor of Beaucaire and Aigues-mortes; and when the war broke out against the duke of Bretagne, he confiscated all the lands which the lady of Villequier had in France, such as Saint Saviour-le-Viscount, Escoubleau, Montnesor, and gave them all to Tanneguy.

The duke of Bretagne, finding himself so vigorously attacked, wrote in the most pressing manner to the duke of Burgundy, to engage him to come to his assistance. 'Tis pretended that the king intercepted the couriers of these two princes, and by that means prevented their being informed of each others situation; and that it was not till after the publick reports of the war in Bretagne, that the duke of Burgundy

her to the baron de Villequier: after whose death, she became the mistress of Francis II. duke of Bretagne.

Burgundy passed the Somme, in order to make a diversion. Nevertheless, whether the duke of Bretagne thought himself abandoned by the duke of Burgundy, or whether he despaired of receiving assistance in time, or might be afraid of the discounts caused by the disgrace of Tanneguy, he demanded of the king a truce for twelve days, which was followed by a peace signed at Ancenis by the duke of Calabria for the king, and by Chauvin, Beauveau, and Parteney for the duke.

The conditions were, that the duke of Calabria and the constable, should, within the space of one year, settle the appennage of monsieur ; that during that time, the king should allow this prince a pension of sixty-thousand livres a year, to be paid quarterly in the city of Angers ; and that if monsieur did not accede to the treaty within fifteen days, the duke should withdraw his troops from Caen and Avranches, should no longer concern himself with the appennage, and should serve the king against all his enemies. If monsieur accepted the treaty, then the duke of Bretagne should give Caen and Avranches to the duke of Calabria, to whom the king would in like manner give S. Lo, Coutances, Bayeux, and Gauray ; and Chantoceau and Ancenis should remain in possession of the duke of Calabria, till Avranches and Caen were delivered to him : The treaties of Paris and Caen were in this renewed : a general amnesty was promised on both sides, and the treaty was to be confirmed by the Holy See, under the ecclesiastical censures against infractors. Monsieur refused to sign the treaty, and continued to stay in Bretagne.

It was at this time, that Anthony de Chateaufief, lord du Lau, who by his ingratitude had lost that favour which he had not gained by his merit, escaped out of the castle of d'Usson. He had been prisoner there two years, when the king ordered the

admiral to contrive an iron cage in which to confine him. The admiral answered the king, that if that was the manner in which he treated his prisoners, he might keep them himself. Du Lau corrupted his guards, and by that means made his escape. The king was so enraged at it, that he caused all those to be seized who were suspected of having favoured his flight, and ordered Tristan, grand-provost of the household, to bring them to their trials. They were condemned to die, and that the example of their deaths might be the more striking, the criminals were executed in different places. Des Arcinges, governor of the castle, was executed at Loches; his grandson at Tours; and d'Usson, the king's solicitor, at Meaux.

After these executions, Tristan was commanded to bring Charles de Melun to his trial: he had been grand-master of the king's household, governor of Paris, and lieutenant-general of the kingdom, during the war of the publick good. He had gained the king's favour by the agreeableness of his wit; and the greatest part of the confiscated estates of the count de Dammartin had been given to him. Dammartin, being again restored to favour, became the mortal enemy of Melun, and contributed not a little to his ruin. Melun had been deprived of his employments the preceding year; but upon fresh complaints against him, and at the solicitation of Dammartin and the cardinal Balue, he was seized, and accused of suppressing the pieces which would have served as a justification of Dammartin: of making a shameful trade of all justice and favour; of selling the employments to men who were unworthy of them, because those who buy, do seldom merit them; of preventing marshal Rouault from coming out of Paris during the battle Montlhery, to charge the enemy in the rear, whilst the king attacked them in front; of holding correspondence with the leagued  
 princes;

princes; of furnishing them with ammunition and provisions; of having had conferences with the duke of Bretagne without the king's knowledge, and of having unjustly used Baluë. Melun alledged in his defence, that the reason why he did not permit the troops to go out of Paris, was because the defence of it had been entrusted to him; and that his conferences with the leagued princes were not in the least prejudicial to the king's interests: nevertheless, by his endeavours to justify his conduct, he convicted himself of most of the facts with which he had been charged. He reproached Baluë for being his enemy, because he had rallied him concerning a lady with whom they were both enamoured, and by whom Baluë had not been favoured; but he denied that he had used him ill, because he could with as little difficulty have been the cause of his death.

For commissioners with Peter la Dehors, licentiate in the laws, the king appointed Thomas Triboult, his secretary; and Maintaut, the inspector of Chatelet; and ordered them always to consult Morvilliers before they pronounced sentence. Melun was conducted to Chateauguillard, interrogated and put to the torture; and as concerning several articles regarding his conferences with the leagued princes, he said that he appealed to the king; Morvilliers sent those charges to him. In answer to them, the king replied, that he had absolutely forbid all correspondence with the leagued princes. Melun was condemned, conducted to little Andely, and there executed. His head not having *Aug. 23.* been severed from his body the first blow, he had still the strength to rise, protested his innocence, then replaced himself, and received the fatal stroke. He had not been able to deny his correspondence with the rebels; but was not less worthy of mercy than du Lau, Poncet de Riviere, and many other criminals, to whom it was afterwards granted; and

he would perhaps have obtained it, had not the king been excited by Dammartin, who was resolved to be revenged for his own injurys; and by cardinal Balue, who endeavoured the destruction of his benefactor, because his presence continually reproached him with his ingratitude.

Dammartin had now all the favour and confidence of his prince, as appears from the letters which they wrote to each other in a mysterious style, of which themselves alone had the key. The king consulted him upon all occasions, and ordered, when he gave him the command of the army destined for Champagne, that the marshals Rouault and de Loheac should serve under him. Dammartin took the opportunity of his favour to get the arret passed against him in 1463 repealed. He obtained letters from the king, addressed to the parliament, for the revising of the trial. The king wrote to cardinal Balue, and told him, that Chabannes not thinking himself guilty of any crime, had come and presented himself before him at Bourdeaux; that having had the choice of going out of the kingdom, justifying himself before the privy council, or of addressing himself to the parliament, he had chose this last; but that Charles de Melun, who was in possession of the confiscated estates, had suppressed the pieces in justification of the accused; amongst others, an enquiry made by Doriote the counsellor at that time, and had intimidated the judges in such a manner, that they condemned Dammartin involuntarily. The attorney-

*Aug. 13.* general demanded a revival of the trial, and upon his request, the decree of condemnation was repealed.

Immediately after the treaty of Ancenis was signed, the king insisted that the duke of Bretagne should communicate it to the duke of Burgundy himself, that he might not suspect the truth of it. Nevertheless, the herald who was the bearer of it, having

called



called at the court of France, the duke Charles imagined the treaty to be a fiction, and an artifice of the king's. He could not believe, that monsieur and the duke of Bretagne had concluded a peace, without consulting him, as it was for their defence alone that he had armed himself: and it was not till after the publick voice and the private letters of these two princes had confirmed it, that the duke of Burgundy was absolutely convinced of the truth.

In order to put an end to the differences subsisting between the king and this prince, a congress had been opened at Cambray, which was transferred to Ham in Vermandois. The constable, cardinal Baluc, and Peter Doriole, plenipotentiaries of the king, alledged, that all the articles in dispute had before been adjusted by the count de Dunois. The deputies of the duke maintained the contrary, and the disputes were carried to a great warmth on both sides. The duke of Burgundy, naturally proud and obstinate, would neither acquiesce in the judgement of the commissioners, nor govern his conduct by that of his allies. Instead of being disposed to peace, even at the very time when it was alone laboured at in the congress, he assembled his troops; and the king could by no other means prevail with him to lay down his arms, than by giving him twenty-six thousand crowns in gold. This was against the advice of Dammartin, who, jealous of the king's glory, and to put an end to so many needless negotiations, and render the duke more tractable, was for attacking him in his camp; but cardinal Baluc, formed for intrigue, persuaded the king on the contrary, that if he went to the duke, he might, by the superiority of his abilities, put an end to all differences in an interview, and obtain greater advantages than from a victory.

Lewis, who did not love to leave that to the chance of war, which he could do by negotiation,

and who besides was not insensible of the eulogies which Balue bestowed upon his abilities, fell into the snare the most dangerous to able men, which is the believing themselves more so than they really are. It does not appear, that Balue had any other interest in this affair, than the making himself necessary. It was with difficulty, that the duke of Burgundy consented to this interview, and was at last persuaded to it by one of his valets de chamber, who doubtless was corrupted by the cardinal, and in whom it appears how much a favourite domestick sometimes influences the greatest affairs, without appearing in them. He made several journeys to the king, and gained his favour, by persuading him, that the duke ardently desired this interview.

Before it was resolved upon, Lewis took a precaution, which was the very occasion of the misfortune that afterwards befel him. He had sent deputies to the Liegeois, to persuade them to revolt again against the duke of Burgundy, in case he turned his arms against France. The king not imagining his agents would succeed in their commission so soon as they did, contented himself, when the interview was resolved upon, with simply sending them advice of his design, and orders to suspend the negotiation; and without waiting their reply, as though he had taken the most prudent measures, he prepared to go meet the duke. The most prudent of his council were for dissuading him from this journey; even he himself was in great perplexity about it; but his confidence in cardinal Balue, prevented him from doing any thing which prudence might have dictated. The constable completed his resolution, by a letter, in which he said, that the duke Charles would have no other friend nor ally but him, and that independent of general affairs, which might be settled by their ministers, he had several particular ones,

ones, which could not be settled but in a personal interview. Lewis, after having received a safe conduct from the duke, left the command of his army to the count de Dammartin, and set out with the duke of Bourbon, cardinal Balue, and the constable, for Peronne; being only escorted by eighty of the Scotch guards, and sixty horse. *Oct. 2.*

William Bitche came with a body of the nobility as far as Athyes to meet the king. The duke received him upon the banks of the river Doing, and they entered Peronne together. Lewis at first appeared very well satisfied with the honours that were paid him; but he began to conceive many suspicions, when he heard that Philip of Savoy, the bishop of Geneva, and the count de Romont, all three brothers, with du Lau, Poncet de Riviere, Durfey, and some others whom he had obliged to quit France, were in the army of the marshal of Burgundy, which was advancing towards Peronne. He was alarmed at seeing himself surrounded by none but enemies or discontented; and not thinking himself safe in the house where he lodged, he desired to be removed into the castle. This Precaution soon turned against himself. The agents whom he had sent to Liege, had but too well executed their first commission, having caused the Liegeois to rise before they had received the counter orders. The king was scarce entered into Peronne, when advice came, that the Liegeois had surprized the city of Tongres. In this place they found their bishop, whom with several canons, they conducted to Liege. At their first halt they killed five of them before his eyes, and in their march, massacred to the number of sixteen, amongst whom was one particularly attached to the bishop. This prelate they confined, and abused with the most barbarous and outrageous speeches.

The news of these proceedings was brought to Peronne, with advice also, that the king's ambassadors had been found amongst the Liegeois. The rage and fury of the duke of Burgundy are not to be expressed: Traitor and villain were the epithets he bestowed upon the king. He caused the gates of the city to be shut, and placed double guards in all places, under pretence of searching for a box full of money and jewels; which was said to be lost. But he soon threw off the mask, and no longer dissembled his real motives. He forbid every body to approach the king, and scarce allowed him domesticks sufficient to serve him. The duke passed the first day in extraordinary agitations and transports, and formed nothing but fatal designs. Every body trembled for the king's life, but dared not to speak to the duke. Next day the council was assembled; some were for keeping the king prisoner, many were of opinion, that monsieur should be sent for, and the kingdom divided. This opinion prevailed for some time, and the courier was ready to depart; but the most prudent were of opinion, that the king being come with a safe-conduct, the faith which had been promised him, ought to be kept, and that it could not be dispensed with, without violating the law of nations. Had any body proposed violent measures, in the disposition the duke was now in, the king had been lost. This prince was under the most terrible alarms. He might reproach himself with his perfidiousness; he saw himself in the hands of a justly incensed enemy; and what gave him a thousand fatal ideas, he had before his eyes the tower where Herbert count de Vermandois had put to death Charles the simple in 922.

Notwithstanding the duke's precautions, the king was informed of every thing that passed, and was very liberal in distributing his money, in order to gain those who had any credit or interest with the duke.

duke. By them the duke was persuaded to moderation, and proposals afterwards made to him on the part of the king. His majesty offered solemnly to swear to a peace, and oblige the Liegeois to repair the damages they had done, or to abandon them. The duke was yet in too great agitation to know how to act. He remained two days longer in rage and irresolution; happily for the king, the duke had no body in his apartment but Commines his chamberlain, and two valets de chamber, one of whom, named Vifen, in some degree governed his master. He and Commines opposed nothing but silence to the fury of their prince, for fear of augmenting his rage; but when they perceived him more tranquil, they omitted nothing which might incline him to moderation. The duke passed the third night without pulling off his cloaths: he threw himself upon his bed, then rising immediately, walked about the chamber in all the agitations of a man transported with the most violent passions, and divided by a thousand different sentiments. In the morning he entered the king's chamber hastily, and with the trembling, faltering voice of one transported with rage, asked whether he intended to sign the treaty of peace which had been presented to him. The king, who had been advised to grant him every thing, because if he did not, he would be in the utmost danger for his person, replied, that he would sign it. Then the duke asked him, whether he would go to Liege with him, to punish the rebellion of the Liegeois, and revenge their bishop, who was of the royal blood. The king answered, that when the peace was concluded, he would go to Liege with whoever the duke had a mind. The duke immediately caused the treaty of peace to be brought, together with the cross which Lewis XI. usually wore. The peace was signed, *Oct. 14.*  
the whole city immediately acquainted

with

with it, and general rejoicings succeeded the general consernation.

Philip de Commines gives us to understand, that it was he who advised the king to grant whatever the duke should require, and says positively, that he contributed not a little to their reconciliation, as the king himself publicly confessed. He farther says, that this prince had ordered fifteen thousand crowns to be distributed in the duke's household, and that the person entrusted with this sum, did not discharge his commission with the greatest fidelity.

All the Articles which had been discussed at the conferences at Ham, those of the treaties of Arras and Conflans, were either settled or renewed in this of Peronne. It was specified, that they should be executed in every particular, but especially with regard to what had been granted to the duke of Burgundy; that all this prince's allies, and particularly the duke of Savoy and his three brothers, should be comprehended in this treaty; that nothing should be done prejudicial to the alliance subsisting between the king of England and the duke of Burgundy; that if the king should act contrary to the oath which he had taken, he should be deprived of all his rights of sovereignty over the lands of the duke of Burgundy, who should remain free from his fealty and homage; that if on the contrary the duke broke the treaty, all his lands should revert to the crown, and be confiscated to the king's use; that Charles of France, the king's brother, should give up the duchy of Normandy, and for appennage should have the provinces of Champagne and Brie; that these articles thus agreed upon, the duke should then render homage to the king for all that he held of him. It was also agreed, that whatever had been taken on either side should be restored, and things put in the same state they were in before the war.

The

The duke of Burgundy forgot nothing which he thought might, by this treaty, put an end to his differences with the king, and prevent those which might arise for the future.

Lewis, being obliged to submit to necessity, granted every demand, that he might draw himself out of the danger in which he had engaged himself by his imprudence, and to that purpose sacrificed the Liegeois. I do not think his behaviour with regard to them is at all to be justified. Even Commynes was so little persuaded of the good faith of this prince, that, speaking of the hostages which he offered as security for the treaty, he has not refrained from saying; *those whom he had named, offered themselves with seeming alacrity; I don't know whether they shewed the same spirit in private; I doubt not: and to say the truth, I believe he would not have paid the most strict regard to their safety.* What idea ought one to form of this prince, after such a judgment, passed by a writer, who in other respects generally favours him? I will not give myself the trouble to refute the errors of Varillas, who regards as so many treaties concluded, at Peronne, the simple commissions given for the execution of several articles.

The king dispatched couriers to his principal officers, to inform them of this treaty; he wrote in particular to the count de Dammartin, to signify to him his intention of going to Liege with a party of the companies d'Ordonnance, and that he was for having him disband the rest of his army. Dammartin received the king's letter with respect; but thought that even his duty required him not to obey his orders. The king in his letter praised him for his zeal, reiterated his orders for chusing those who were to accompany him to Liege, and of discharging the rest; adding, that as soon as this affair was ended, he would return into France, and that the duke was more desirous of his departure, than he himself was of going.

The

The desire which the king intimated in his letter of going to Liege, what he said of the duke, and the satisfaction which he affected, all appeared too improbable to Dammartin, not to be suspected by him. He imagined, that the king had been obliged to communicate his letter to the duke, who had caused the courier to be accompanied by one of his own people, whom Dammartin charged to tell his master: *That he might depend upon it, if the king did not return soon, the whole kingdom would come in quest of him, and do that in the duke's territories, which he wanted to do in Liege; and that France was not so destitute of honest and worthy men as he might imagine.*

The duke failed not to be struck by this message. The king indeed had set up the cross of the duke of Burgundy; but he was at the head of a considerable body of troops who had come and joined him; and had with him the duke and the cardinal of Bourbon, the constable, la Tremouille, and upwards of four hundred lances, with a great part of his household. In this manner did he march, to punish a crime of which himself was an accomplice, or rather the author.

As the ramparts of Liege were destroyed, and the fosses filled up, the despairing inhabitants assembled, and no longer depending on any thing but their courage, prepared to sell their lives as dear as they could.

The Burgundian army being approached near the city, the duke held a council. Some proposed the sending back a part of the troops, as the place was in no condition of defence; but the duke rejected this advice, because the king, whom he always suspected, seemed to be of the same opinion: The duke presently perceived, by the resistance that was made, that he was in the right for not having despised his enemies, by depending too much upon his own strength.

The



The marshal of Burgundy was ordered to march first, and endeavour to surprize the city. The Liegeois marched to meet him, and were repulsed; their bishop took this opportunity to escape out of their hands and fly to the Burgundians; others pretend, that he was sent by the Liegeois to incline the duke of Burgundy to compassion; but that this prince refused to hearken to him, and kept him, lest if he sent him back, it might endanger his life.

There was one of the pope's legates in the city, who had been sent to reconcile the people to their prelate. This legate, instead of performing his mission, had increased the hatred of the Liegeois against their bishop, in hopes of getting himself elected in his place; but the success not answering his designs, he, in endeavouring to save himself, fell into the hands of the Burgundians. The duke caused those who had taken him to be told, that they might use him as they thought proper, provided he did not appear to have any knowledge of it. The soldiers, instead of doing as the duke intended, began to dispute about his orders, and came to him for his decision. The duke, not being able now to pretend ignorance of the prisoner's character, ordered him to be released, and severely reprimanded the soldiers.

The marshal of Burgundy, intoxicated with the little advantage he had gained, imagined he had nothing to fear from an undisciplined multitude; but the Liegeois, under favour of a night when the marshal was not upon his guard, fell upon his troops, put them in a panick, and cut eight hundred of them to pieces. The Burgundians having rallied by break of day, in their turns repulsed the Liegeois, who regained their city. John de Villette, their best general, was wounded in this sally, and died two days after.

The

The first news of this action was, that the marshal had been absolutely defeated. The duke ordered, that none should tell the king of it; marched immediately to repair the disorder, but was soon informed the loss was not so considerable as had been at first reported. Nevertheless, his army suffered extremely, and was in great want of provisions. The advanced guard had been two days without bread; the troops in general were excessively incommoded by the continual rains; and alarms were continually succeeding each other without intermission.

In the night between the 26th and 27th of October, the besieged made a vigorous sally, and attacked the quarters of the king and those of the duke, both at once. The surprize, the shouts, and the darkness, at first frightened the besiegers. They fought at a venture, without knowing whom they had to deal with. The duke rode up and down the camp, encouraged his troops, and charged the enemy; but as he fought with greater impetuosity than composure, the victory remained very uncertain, when the king arrived, and forced the Liegeois to re-enter the city. Commynes says, upon this occasion, in comparing the military virtues of these two princes; *the duke of Burgundy never wanted courage, but always wanted conduct; and in truth, he did not, at the time I have mentioned, preserve himself from disorder so well as many persons wished, because the king was present; but to observe the king's steadiness and authority in commanding, to hear his voice, and observe his countenance, was alone sufficient to shew, he was a king of great virtue and sense, and thoroughly skilled in affairs of the like nature.* The next day the king and the duke lodged in the suburbs of the city: their houses were only separated by a barn, in which the duke placed three hundred men, as much to observe the king, as to watch the motions of the enemy.

The

The vigorous defence made by the Liegeois, began to make the success of the siege doubtful. The duke of Burgundy conceived continual suspicion of the king; and Lewis was afraid the duke of Burgundy might impute the ill success of the enterprise to him, and from thence take occasion to do him an injury. The two princes had solemnly sworn a peace, but had not been able nevertheless to inspire each other with confidence. In the mean time, as the besieged made no more sallies, it was judged they were very weak, or else reserved themselves in order to sustain the assault. The duke ordered every thing to be in readiness for its being given on Sunday morning, October the 30th, and that the firing of a single cannon should be the signal for the city to be attacked in two different places. The orders being thus given, the duke pulled off his armour, which he had not yet done since his arrival before the place; and ordered his troops to do the same, in order to repose and refresh themselves, till the signal was given.

The Liegeois, perceiving that their preservation could now be hoped from nothing but an effort of despair, chose six hundred determined men of the territory of Franchemont. It was resolved, that about the middle of the night they should fallly out through the breaches, and at once attack the quarters of the king and the duke, to which they were to be conducted by the owners of the houses where they lodged, who were in the plot. The enterprise was at first conducted well enough. If the plan of it had been exactly followed, the king and the duke would have been surprized and massacred in their beds; but the three hundred men that were placed in the barn between the two lodgings, having come out upon the first noise, the Liegeois, instead of going directly to the chambers of these princes, engaged themselves with these three hundred men. The alarm was presently spread; the duke had only time  
to

to take his sword and cuirafs to defend himself ; and the king did the like. The Liegeois made great efforts to enter, the guards repulsed them ; the ardour was equal on both sides, and the engagement exceeding bloody. The duke's continual suspicion with respect to the king, was yet more augmented by the shouts which he heard. Some cried *vive le roi*, others *vive le duc* ; and others *vive le roi, et tuez*. The two princes were equally ignorant of each others situation, and each fought at the head of his own guards. At last they met, all covered with blood, and surrounded with dead ; fought in conjunction, and repulsed their enemies.

When the disorder was a little abated, the duke rallied his troops, and gave orders to prepare for giving a general assault at break of day. 'Tis plain the king was not present in the council where this assault was resolved upon ; for immediately after he had re-entered his lodgings, he sent for some of the duke's officers, who had assisted in this council, and asked them the result of it. After they had informed him of it, he told them, he should not have been for hazarding an assault, and supported his opinion by pretty strong reasons. These officers, who were for receiving the Liegeois upon articles, or at least for deferring the assault, of which they dreaded the consequences, came and informed the duke of the king's opinion, and of their own fears, which they displayed by constantly telling them as the sentiments of the king, for fear of incurring their prince's displeasure, had he suspected they spoke their own opinion. The duke, imagining the king only disapproved the assault, in order to favour the Liegeois, told his officers, that he was resolved to give the assault at the hour agreed upon, and that the king might, in expectation of the event, retire to Namure. Though this discourse of the duke's was very *offensive*, the king did not seem to be moved by it,  
and

and coldly replied, that he would be present with the others. He might have retired; but courage was natural to him, and though he did not love war, he never avoided danger.

Next day the assault was given. The Burgundians began the attack. The resistance was not obstinate, the inhabitants were even not upon their guard, imagining, that the solemnity of the day, which was Sunday, would prevent the assault from being then given. Besides, many of the Liegeois had fled with their best effects into the Ardennes, where they miserably perished through hunger and cold. The aged, the women, and all who had not been able to make their escape, were fled into the churches. These would not have served them for an assylum; but as none made any opposition, the soldiers contented themselves with plundering. The king entered the city slowly at the head of three hundred men, and the officers of his household. The duke received him, conducted him to the palace, and then left him to go save the principal church, into which the soldiers were for entering notwithstanding the guard. The duke had himself so much difficulty to make them obey him, that he was obliged to kill one of the soldiers with his own hand, in order to quiet the rest, and save the church from being plundered. After this he returned to the king, who by this time had dined. The two princes embraced each other. The king bestowed great elogies upon the duke, who appeared to be very much elated by them. The next day the treaty of Peronne was read over again; the duke having a mind that d'Urfey, du Lau, and Poncet de Riviere, should be comprehended in it. To this request the king replied, that he was ready to give his consent, provided the duke would grant the same favour to the earl of Nevers and to Croy. The duke answering nothing to this, the treaty was confirmed without any alteration,

and

and then the king departed. The duke accompanied him about half a league; and at their separation the king asked him, what he should do if Charles of France was dissatisfied with the partition assigned him? The duke replied, that he left it entirely to themselves, and that he would have no concern in it, provided monsieur was but satisfied. The king soon after made his advantage of this reply.

Though the assault had not been bloody, its consequences were not the less fatal. The duke ordered all the prisoners to be drowned, without distinction of age or sex; and on the day that he was to leave Liege, he set it on fire, and fasted his eyes with the horrid spectacle. All these barbarities had not yet satisfied his vengeance: he entered the territory of Franchemont, and put every thing to fire and sword. Those who escaped from his rage, fled into the woods, and there miserably perished with hunger and the severity of the winter, which was so severe, that the wine distributed to the soldiers was cut with an axe.

Whilst the king was before Liege, he was informed, that the English were projecting a descent in Guyenne or Poitou. Upon these advices, he immediately wrote to Rochfoucault, and ordered him to assemble the nobility, which prevented the English from appearing.

The king being arrived at Senlis, he sent to the parliament, the chamber of accounts, the generals of the finances, and acquainted them with what had passed at Peronne. Then he ordered the treaty concluded at that place to be read, and published an ordinance for punishing with the utmost severity, and even with death, in case of repetition, all those who should speak ill of the duke of Burgundy. The chronicles farther tell us, that the same day the king ordered the Pies, Jays, and other tame birds to be brought to him, with the names of those to whom they

they belonged; and it is the common opinion, that he did this, because the birds had been taught to say *Peronne*. Lewis, in regard to his honour, ratified the treaty; but whatever recalled to his mind the remembrance of it, did not appear less odious to him.

The count de Dunois died this year, with the character of a brave soldier, a *Nov. 28.* great general, a zealous Frenchman, and an honest man. He was interred at cleri, near his second wife Mary de Harcourt. His posterity was long preserved in the dukes of Longueville, and was at last extinct in the abbé d'Orleans. This house always bore rank immediately after the princes of the blood.

As whatever concerns trade and commerce cannot be too particularly observed, I ought not to omit mentioning, that Peter Doriolle sent a memorial this year to the king, to represent to him, the necessity of prohibiting the importation of spices from foreigners. He maintained, that the situation of France was in every respect favourable to its navigation; that there were already ships sufficient for the trade; and that France might save annually four hundred thousand crowns, which the Venetians carried out of the kingdom by the sale of their spices. A proposal was also offered, for bringing down the wool, oil, and other merchandizes to Bourdeaux, and from thence to transport them into England and Flanders.

In another letter Doriolle gave the king an account of the disorders committed by a troop of vagabonds, that were come from Egypt, and were known by the name of Bohemians. They had obtained letters patent, under the preceding reign, for their toleration in France. Their numbers were considerably increased, and they had a chief, and a kind of government amongst themselves, which only served towards committing their outrages with the greater security.

security. They were accused of having robbed and plundered in one year, to the amount of four thousand marks, which they remitted to their bankers, who were placed for that purpose in certain particular towns. Several of them were ordered to be hanged; after which they were dissipated by degrees, and never flourished again.

Towards the end of this year, the king spent some days at Loches. Being in the church of Notre Dame, he asked the Canons whose tomb that was which he saw in the middle of the choir? they told him, it was that of Agnes Sorel, and added, from a mean adulation; and thinking to flatter the king's resentment, that the tomb incommoded them, and they therefore desired he would permit them to remove it. Lewis, incensed at the ingratitude of these priests, who only subsisted by the benefactions of Agnes Sorel, replied, that he consented to it, provided they also restored all that she had given them. At this reply the Canons retired without making him any answer.

Lewis XI. having by the treaty of 1469. Peronne, either terminated or suspended his differences with the duke of Burgundy, he began now to cast his attention upon the king of Arragon, and endeavour to foment the troubles of Catalonia, lest that prince should disturb him with regard to Rouffillon and Cerdagne. Ever since the Catalans had called the house of Anjou to their assistance, the duke of Calabria had made war in Catalonia with various success, and at this time blocked up Gironne, not being in a condition to form the siege of it; but the king having sent him a reinforcement of four thousand Frank-archers, under the command of the counts Dauphin and Bologne, of the sire d'Allegre, de Taillebourg, and de S. Gelais, the duke made himself master of Gironne, and



and of almost all the country, and from *February*.  
thence marched to Barcelona.

Whatever interest the king of Arragon appeared to take in Catalonia, he was more engaged in the design of re-uniting Castile to his dominions by a marriage between Ferdinand his son, and the infanta Isabella, sister to Henry IV. king of Castile. The Castellians were divided into two parties, one for the brother, the other for the sister. In order to shew the origin of these divisions, we must observe, that Henry, after having divorced his first wife Blanche of Navarre, had espoused Jane of Portugal. The publick voice accused Henry of Impotence. It was said, that being desirous to have children, in order to put an end to the cabals which began already to arise in Castile about the succession, he had desired his second wife to receive to her bed Bertrand de la Cueva; that she had consented to it, and that this political adultery gave birth to the princess Jane of Castile. La Cueva was created count de Ledesma and loaded with favours; and indeed, after the important secret with which he was intrusted, he could not expect less than the highest favours or death. If the common opinion may be depended on, queen Blanche would not have been divorced, had she had the complaisance shewn by Jane of Portugal. Though Henry had caused the infanta Jane to be acknowledged as his daughter, yet the archbishop of Toledo, the duke of Medina Sidonia, the count d'Arcois, and the principal towns, formed a powerful party in favour of Isabella, in favour of which they engaged the court of Rome. Henry was forced to acknowledge his sister as his sole heir. The pope's legate absolved those from their oath who had taken it to the princess Jane, and upon the king of Arragon's promise to give him the archbishoprick of Montreal in Sicily, he engaged Isabella to promise to espouse prince Ferdinand of Arragon,

Arragon, who called himself king of Sicily. Henry refused to consent to this marriage; on the other hand, the grand-master of Saint James, the most powerful lord in Spain, had undertaken to marry Isabella to Alphonso king of Portugal, who was a widower, and the Princess Jane of Castile, to don John infant of Portugal, upon condition that the prince who should be born of the marriage of Isabella should have Castile, and that if she died without children, the two crowns should both go to the infant of Portugal.

Lewis XI. attentive to all the different interests of these princes, had himself some that were contrary to them. As he had yet no male children, he had thoughts of marrying his brother; but not liking an alliance with the duke of Burgundy, he had cast his eyes upon the princess Isabella.

Whilst the court of Castile was the center of the negotiations of so many princes, Navarre was divided by the factions of Gramont and Beaumont. The constable, Peter de Perault, had caused the bishop of Pampelona to be assassinated. The states of Navarre demanded justice of the king for this action. The count and the countess de Foix, whose son, Gaston Phœbus, had espoused Magdalen of France, Lewis XIth's sister; joined themselves to the states of a kingdom which was to belong to them, and complained, that the king of Arragon alienated the demesnes of Navarre. Lewis was not in a condition to pacify Navarre, till he should have established peace in France, which he could do by no other means than by re-calling and satisfying his Brother. He spared nothing to succeed in this, and to gain those who might contribute towards it, he remitted the judgments obtained during the war against the duke of Bretagne and his subjects, and gave leave of replevy to all the seizures made upon them. He gave lands and pensions to the duke of Bourbon,

Bourbon, the sire de Croy, and the constable; he loaded the ambassadors of Burgundy with presents, and caused the treaty of Peronne to be registered. But Lewis was ignorant that the greatest obstacle to his designs was the perfidy of cardinal Balue, who betrayed the confidence reposed in him, and whose treachery was discovered by chance.

To shew the character of this minister, we must descend to his first rise, and shew by what means he raised himself to a favour that he merited little by his talents, and of which his vices always rendered him unworthy. Balue had more of cunning than capacity in his genius: he was subtle, crafty, rather treacherous than politick, properer for intrigue than negotiation, and did not so much endeavour to persuade as to seduce. With respect to the court, he had not any one virtue, and only wanted Hypocrisy to have all the vices: but from this the shamelessness of his manners had preserved him. He was born in 1421, at Angle in Poitou, in a very obscure condition. 'Tis generally believed, that he was the son of a taylor, or miller. He embraced the ecclesiastick life, and attached himself to James Juvenal des Ursins, bishop of Poitiers. This prelate, whose confidence he had gained, made him the executor of his will. 'Tis said Balue deprived his heirs of the best of his effects: if he was innocent, he had at least deserved the suspicion. After the death of the bishop of Poitiers, he gained the favour of John de Beauveau, bishop of Angers, and accompanied him to Rome in 1462. Beauveau gave him several canonicships, of which he made a shameful commerce, and by that means disposed the chapter of Angers against him. At his return from Rome, he attached himself to the court, where his abilities being soon known, the viciousness of his morals were but little regarded. The king made him a counsellor in the parliament, honoured him with his confidence, and

gave him the administration of the college at Navarre, des Hotels-dieu, Maladrieres, Aumoneries, and the disposal of royal benefices. From hence some writers have taken occasion to say, that Balue had been grand-almoner of France, whereas that dignity was not then known in France \*. The gratitude which he owed Beauveau, did not prevent him from entering into a dispute with that prelate about the treasurerſhip of the church of Angers, to which they both pretended, and which Balue obtained. The year following he was made bishop of Eureux, and a few days after his consecration, was attacked and wounded in the night, coming out of the house of a woman of bad repute. This perhaps was the woman mentioned by Charles de Melun in his examination. From that adventure the new prelate applied himself entirely to publick business. The king consulted him in all affairs, raised him to the highest favour, which no minister did ever so much abuse. Though he did not want sense, he fell into that conceitedness and self-sufficiency into which fortune usually plunges those whose expectations she has exceeded. Balue imagined his talents were universal, and piqued himself particularly upon those of which he was utterly incapable. He loved to appear at the head of armies. Dammartin seeing him one day make a review in his habit of a bishop, said to the king, *sire, I beseech you to send me to Eureux, that I may ordain priests, seeing the bishop comes hither to review the soldiers.* The courtiers were always seeking opportunities of turning him into ridicule; a kind of revenge which they think they may take upon Favourites, and which proves the favour without losing it. Balue had new proofs of favour shewn him daily. He undertook to de-  
 prive

\* Geoffrey de Pompadour is the first that was styled *grand almoner* in 1486, under the reign of Charles VIII.

rive Beauveau of his bishoprick, in order to have t himself. He no longer remembered that he had seen his domestick, and was indebted to him for his fortune; or he rather remembered it too much, and his hatred was so much the more violent, as it had its source from ingratitude. The project was extremely difficult, and in a manner impossible: and though Balue succeeded in it, it must have been the highest ambition that could make him dare to attempt it. Beauveau must inevitably be deprived of his bishoprick, or be brought to a trial. The prelate, being blameless, absolutely refused to resign. Nothing criminal could be found to charge him with; but he was condemned nevertheless. His chapter, with whom he was embroiled, forwarded the prosecution. Balue gave the king to understand, that the fidelity of Beauveau was suspected; and that the bishoprick of Angers being contiguous to Bretagne, it was for the interest of the state to have one there that could be depended on. Several calumnious accusations were also formed against this prelate. The king wrote to Rome, and the pope, being either deceived or corrupted, gave his bull by which Beauveau was prohibited the exercise of his function, excommunicated, deprived of his bishoprick, and condemned to retire into the monastery of Chaise-dieu. Balue, at the king's recommendation, was immediately appointed bishop of Angers. Balue would have addressed himself to the parliament; but Lewis XI. who a few years before had declared, by a solemn edict, that it only belonged to the parliament of Paris to take cognizance of royal benefices, forbid that court by a letter under his signet, to be at all concerned in the affair, the cognizance of which, said he, belonged only to the pope.

Princes; even by their benefactions, attach themselves to their creatures. Lewis XI. was prejudiced

to such a degree in favour of Balue, as to espouse his interests upon all occasions. In a letter which he wrote to John de Beaumont, sieur de Bressiure, lieutenant-general and governor of Poitou, he desired him to get Balue all the revenues dependant upon the abby of Bourgeuil, which had been just given to him: *for*, said the king, *he is a very good sort of bishop at present, whatever he may be hereafter.* He had afterwards but too much experience of him. After he had given him the abbies of Lagni, S. Thierry, and Fecamp, he was desirous of procuring for him a cardinal's hat.

Lewis had till now treated Paul II. but indifferently. The pope, who ought to have been more than satisfied with the letter which the king had sent to the parliament concerning the trial of Beauveau, resolved to draw a still greater advantage from this prince's passion for his favourite. He caused Balue to be told, that the bishop of Arras had obtained the hat only by his endeavours at the abolishment of the pragmatick sanction; that the affair was not yet determined; and that it was only by compleating this affair that he must hope for the same honour.

1 Balue omitted nothing to persuade the king to do what the pope desired: he obtained letters for the entire and absolute suppression of the pragmatick sanction, with which he went to the parliament, to have them registered. But he met a resistance there which he did not in the least expect. The magistrates, uninfluenced by ambition or fear, and only consulting their duty, refused to register it. Balue, astonished at the refusal, menaced saint Romain the attorney-general, that the king should deprive him of his place. Romain replied, that the king might deprive him of the place with which he had honoured him; but he could never oblige him to betray his duty to the state and to himself. He afterwards reproached Balue for his behaviour, which was at once  
injurious

injurious to religion, morality, and the state. The parliament firmly supported all the attorney-general had said, and at last made that famous remonstrance \* printed in several books, and which describes the manners of Rome at that time, as well as the state of France.

Balue not having been able to prevail with the parliament to register the abolishment of the pragmatick sanction, he caused it to be registered at Chatelet; but the university signified to the legate its disapprobation and appeal to the council, which declaration they also made at Chatelet. Paul II. to requite the efforts which Balue had made, gave him the cardinal's hat; but the pope did not afterwards dissemble his having been forced to it, and that he was not ignorant of the depravity of his morals.

Balue continued to be employed by the king in the most important affairs, and for some time governed him with an absolute sway. It was he who led the king to Peronne; it was there that this perfidious and ungrateful minister sold himself to the duke of Burgundy, and informed him of the most secret affairs. But it is now high time to relate how his treachery was discovered.

Lewis had drawn from the service of Charles his brother, William de Craucourt, bishop of Verdun; had loaded him with favours, admitted him into his

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counsels,

\* Those authors are mistaken who date this remonstrance in 1461, it being made in 1467, as appears from the forty-eighth article, where pope Pius II. is mentioned as being dead; and the seventeenth article says, the pragmatick sanction had subsisted about twenty-three years, and had been abolished four year. The mistake was occasioned by its not having been observed, that the pragmatick sanction was at first abolished with exceptions, and that it was not till some years after, through the counsels of Balue, that the king resolved to abolish it absolutely, and in every respect.

counfels, and follicited for him a cardinal's hat. Balue and Haraucourt entered into a *strict* friendship, if it is not profaning the name of friendship, to apply it to the union of two men fo little worthy of infpiring or feeling this fentiment. United by the fame vices and the fame intereffs, they only thought of rendering themfelves neceffary, by preventing a reconciliation between the two brothers.

The king offered Guyenne as an appennage to monfieur, inftead of Champagne and Brie : the duke of Bretagne, and Odet Daidie, laboured in earneft to bring about this accommodation, and monfieur was ready to accept it. By the treaty of Peronne, he was to have Champagne and Brie ; but the duke of Burgundy had only inferted this artiele, to have a free paffage from Flanders into Burgundy, and he afterwards formally declared to the king at their feparation, that it would be indifferent to him of what the appennage was compofed, provided monfieur was fatisfied. Balue and Haraucourt undertook to perfuade the duke of Burgundy, that it was for his intereff to break this negotiation, and wrote him a letter, with which they intrufted one Belée.

Belée, to whom they recommended the moft inviolable fecrecy, put his inftructions in the lining of his doublet and departed. The fame evening, upon his arrival at Claye, he was met by two men belonging to the company of the conftable of Guyenne. Upon feveral queftions which they put to Belée, and from his embarrassed air, they judged him to be a fpy, fearched him, found the letter, and conducted him the next day to Amboife. Belée being examined, confeffed all he knew concerning the letter. It contained in fubftance, that the king was immediately going to fend Navarot Danglade into Burgundy, to inform the duke of his agreement with monfieur : they told the duke at the fame time, that this appearance of great deference fhewn to him, was only

with



with design to render him suspected by monsieur; that he ought absolutely to insist upon the execution of the treaty of Peronne; that monsieur should be engaged to come to the court of Burgundy, because it would always be able to give laws to France, so long as it remained master of his person; that the earls of Foix and Armagnac were ready to declare themselves; that the duke of Bourbon only sought an occasion of doing so, and that the constable would be so much the more easily gained, as he was not ignorant of his being suspected by the king. The same letter also advised the duke to remove from his councils three persons whom the bearer would name to him, who informed the king of all that passed in Burgundy; that he should take care to fortify and store the cities of Amiens, Abeville, and St. Quintin; that the earl of Warwick was arrived at Calais, and that the king was in great harmony with the whole house of Anjou, and the duke of Bretagne. Baluc and Haraucourt had, in short, omitted nothing which might dispose the duke of Burgundy against the king, and break the measures taken for a peace.

In consequence of Belée's deposition, the cardinal and the bishop of Verdun were sent for. They came very confidently, and without the least suspicion; and were immediately seized and separately confined in the castle of Tours. Several of their accomplices were also seized; and the king by letters patent appointed Juvenal des Ursins, the *May 8.* chancellor; John d'Estouteville, lord de Torcy and grand-master of the bow-men; William Cousinot, governor of Montpellier; John le Boulanger, president in parliament; John de la Driefche, president of accounts; Peter Doriole, general of the finances; Tristan l'Hermite, provost de l'Hotel; and William Allegrin, counsellor in parliament, to try and pass sentence upon the criminals.

The same day, the king appointed Claustre, counsellor in parliament; Mariette, the judge of capital offenders; and Pontin, examiner in Chatelet, to take an account of all the effects of cardinal Balue, and deliver an inventory of them to Huillier, notary and secretary to the king.

The bishop of Verdun confessed all, the moment he was seized: Balue endeavoured to disguise the circumstances, but finding himself convicted, to obtain favour, he offered to declare all that he knew. The king consented to it; but not finding that sincerity in the cardinal's deposition which he had promised, he abandoned him to the severity of justice.

The domesticks of the cardinal and the bishop were seized, and all those who had any concerns with them were examined. Their depositions had nothing in them contrary to what was already known, and several circumstances were discovered which till then were concealed. There were also laid before the commissioners several bulls sent from Rome, with which the king was greatly dissatisfied, and which he forbade the bishops to publish. Nevertheless he permitted the tenths to be raised which had been granted the pope at the recommendation of Balue, and which amounted to one hundred and twenty-seven thousand livres.

At the same time that the king appointed the commissioners, he sent Gruel, president in the parliament of Dauphiny, to inform the pope of the crime of the two prelates. This precaution was the wiser, as the duke of Burgundy had already sent to Rome the prothonotary Feri de Cluni, to declare to the pope and cardinals, that he interested himself greatly in the affair. Cousinot set out for Rome

*August.* some time after, with orders to demand commissioners of the pope *in partibus*, to assist at the trial of the cardinal and the bishop. All the princes of Italy paid great honours to the  
ambassadors

ambassadors of France. The duke of Milan went out of the city to receive him, and told him, "that he had more respect for the king than for all the princes in the world; that he acknowledged no master but him, and that whatever interests the king espoused, he would espouse the same, without regard to any thing but his majesty's pleasure."

Gruel and Cousinot arrived at Rome by different routs, and united before they entered the city. The pope sent his whole household to meet them. Most of the cardinals followed his example. The ambassadors of princes, the prelates, all the French, and whoever were attached to the interests of France, went to meet them in person; so that the ambassadors entered Rome with a retinue of more than two thousand horse. They were accompanied to their audience by several cardinals, by the pope's household, and by the ambassadors of the king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Calabria, and the Florentines.

The pope, before the ambassadors began to speak, enlarged much in eulogies upon the kings of France, and particularly upon Pepin, Charlemagne, and Lewis le Debonnaire. He said the popes were indebted to them for the happiness of enjoying the patrimony which Constantine had given to the church, and that it was with great justice the king of France took the title of *Most Christian*, which the popes ought long since to have given him.

The ambassadors did not deliver their credentials till some days after, when a Dec. 3. consistory was held for that purpose. In this consistory the pope intimated to them his concern, that the king was obliged to proceed against a cardinal and a bishop, inasmuch as the honour of the church was concerned; that nevertheless, not to refuse the king that justice which was due to all, he had appointed for commissioners the cardinal de Ni-

cus, the vice-chancellor Urfin, Arezzo, Spoletta, and Theano.

In consequence of this, a congregation was held at the house of cardinal de Nicus, in which the ambassadors presented a memorial, setting forth the crimes of which the cardinal and the bishop were accused. In the next congregation the cardinals asked the ambassadors, whether they had nothing farther to produce; because the affair being of the highest importance, both from the nature of the crime, and the quality of the accused; it was necessary that the congregation should be informed of the most secret circumstances.

The ambassadors replied, that the memorial they had given was sufficient; that it was not yet necessary to bring proofs which might be produced at a more proper time and place; that the king by thus demanding commissioners from the pope, had given to all princes, the most shining example of moderation and submission to the Holy See, because he might by his own authority, and from the nature of the crimes, proceed against them directly, as had been practised in the like cases in England, Spain, Arragon, Germany, and all the catholick countries; that the king had not seized the cardinal Balue and the bishop, but by advice of the princes of the blood and the council; that by the laws of the kingdom, the cognizance and punishment of high-treason belonged to the king alone and to his officers, whatever the quality of the criminal might be; that if he is an ecclesiastick, and a competent judge requires it, he is released, with a declaration of its being a privileged case; that the cause is tried by the ecclesiastical judges, who call to their assistance the royal judges; that the ecclesiasticks judge according to the canons, and the royal according to the laws.

The ambassadors being retired, the cardinals, after a pretty long deliberation, sent for them  
again,

again, and told them, that the pope was the head of the church, and that a cardinal was next to him; that the decretals did not permit a cardinal to be seized upon the deposition of a single man, and for a simple letter of credence; that whatever the case might be for which he had been seized, he should, upon pain of excommunication, be delivered into the hands of the ecclesiastical judges within four and twenty hours; that the confession of the criminals had not been made before a competent judge; that the pope ought not to appoint commissioners upon a simple deposition, because it was doubtful what satisfaction might be made the accused, in case they were innocent. Then the cardinals demanded, whether they should proceed in form of an accusation, denunciation, or Inquisition; and desired to know whether the king expected the cause to be tried in France, or whether he would deliver the accused into the hands of the commissioners; and whether they should be sent to Rome or Avignon:

The ambassadors firmly replied, that the king in causing the cardinal to be seized, had no occasion for any thing more than the rights of his crown, and that by condemning him, he should discharge his duty to God, his people, and himself; that kings hold their power from God alone; that they are only accountable for their conduct to God and the laws; that the king ought not to submit to any canon which might be contrary to the laws of his kingdom; that it was very astonishing attempts should be made to deprive him of his authority, when the popes themselves were indebted to kings for their temporal authority; that before Constantine, the church had no temporal jurisdiction; that kings, by delegating part of their authority to the ministers of the church, were not therefore deprived of it, and that even the king himself could not renounce his authority without doing violence to the laws

laws of the state, and the rights of his crown, both which he had sworn to maintain.

The ambassadors then enlarged upon the king's rights, and the laws of the kingdom: they added, that the king might, after the example of several other princes, punish with death a cardinal and bishop, who had been arraigned and convicted of the crime of high-treason, the truth of which was notorious; that the king nevertheless, through respect for the Holy See, had condescended to demand commissioners; that before embarrassing themselves about what satisfaction might be made the cardinal and bishop, in case they were innocent, it was proper to examine if they were guilty, especially as there were proofs of their being so; that the respect due to their character, instead of being a motive to impunity, had its source only from the virtue with which persons in their station were supposed to be endowed; that it was for the security of the state to have them tried, and that a chimerical regard ought not in the least to ballance a real danger; that the church, instead of being dishonoured by the punishment of one of its members, could not be so but by shewing impunity to a crime that was contrary to civil polity, and scandalous to religion; that if the perfidy of the cardinal had not been discovered, it might have cost the lives of a hundred thousand men; and that it was both just and necessary to make an example of him. With regard to the question, whether the king would deliver the prisoners into the hands of the pope's commissioners? they replied, that the king would never permit any of his subjects to be taken out of his kingdom; that it was contrary to the laws and their natural right, according to which every subject is bound to the state, and the state to the subject; that the cause would be tried by the ecclesiastical jurisdiction as common offences were, and as for its being a privileged

leged case, that must be left entirely to the king. The disputes ran very high between the cardinals and the ambassadors, without coming to any determination. Cousinot, before his departure, in the king's name, demanded a cardinal's hat for the bishop of Mans, brother to the constable de St. Pol; and leave to dispose of the benefices of Balue. The pope desired to be excused the first article, and refused the second.

However, the court of Rome did appoint commissioners to go into France and assist at the trial, or rather to solicit in favour of the criminals: at least it was judged at that time, that the pope had no other design than to save them. We are told by the cardinal of Pavia, who was at Rome at that time, that the pope appointed Alphonso bishop of Ceuta, Rodrigo, Ubaldini de Peroufa, auditor of Rota, Tufcanella the consistorial advocate, Geminiani, two secretaries, and Fulco de Sinibaldis, who was already known to the king, having been sent into France to receive the tenths granted to the pope. We are ignorant whether these commissioners actually went into France; at least there is no proof of their having done any thing there. The king caused the cardinal and the bishop of Verdun, to be each inclosed in a cage of iron, eight foot square, of which the bishop had been the inventor, and in which he was confined the first. They remained confined in these cages twelve years. The cardinal was at first entrusted to the care of Torcy, and afterwards transferred to Ouzain, to the care of Francis de Dons. The bishop was put in the Bastile. The king, by his own authority, restored Beauveau to his bishoprick. The chapter of Angers, which had been a part of his bishoprick, opposed his re-establishment, till the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by the pope was repealed:

revealed : however, Beauveau always enjoyed his temporalities.

As soon as Balue and Haraucourt were incapacitated from sowing division in the royal house, the king met with no obstacle, in being reconciled to his brother, who agreed to accept Guyenne for his appennage. Odet Daidie, lord de Lescun, contributed more than any one to this reconciliation, by the ascendancy he had over monsieur and the duke of Bretagne. Daidie had rendered great services to Charles VII. and during his reign, was bailiff of Cotentin ; but Lewis XI. having at his coming to the crown deprived him of this employment, he had retired into Bretagne. It was he who afterwards drew monsieur thither. He commanded the army of these two princes in the war of the publick good, and was regarded as the man most capable of making the duke of Bretagne act prudently. His resentment was never able to make him a bad Frenchman : a thing very rare in a malecontent. He refused to have any intelligence with the English, nor would permit them to be intrusted with the places the Britons had taken in Normandy. Lewis omitted nothing to regain him, and make him forget the injury that had been done him. Daidie, who had left his master like a brave man, received his advances with respect and generosity, and though he did not immediately quit Bretagne, he sent him his seal, by which he engaged himself never to acknowledge any sovereign but him, nor do any thing contrary to his service, neither in Bretagne nor elsewhere.

In consequence of this promise, Daidie engaged monsieur to agree to the king's proposals. The affair of the appennage, nevertheless, met with some difficulties : monsieur demanded that the king should grant him the royal rights, and should cede to him  
the



he homage of the earldoms of Foix, Armagnac, and Albert. The king absolutely refused this demand. He consented that these lords should pay homage to monsieur for those particular lands which might depend on the fiefs of the appennage; but always on condition that their persons and the great fiefs, should remain immediately subject to the king and the crown. Though the states had fixed the revenues of the appennage upon the antient footing, the king, in order to obviate monsieur's pretensions, agreed to add twenty-thousand livres to his revenue, over and above the sixty-thousand livres to which the appennage had at first been fixed. A general pardon was granted to all those who had served the interests of monsieur; not excepting even the duke of Alençon, with a discharge for all sums of money which they might have raised upon the publick.

Even at the very time when the affair of the appennage was settling, monsieur, *May 17.* whom for the future we shall call duke of Guyenne, renewed his alliances with the duke of Bretagne, who was absolutely against the new engagements he had made. The king, resolving to sacrifice every thing for the sake of peace, affected to appear ignorant of these proceedings. He caused the appennage to be registered *July 10.* in the parliament and the chamber of accounts, and monsieur set out for Rhedon, in order to take possession of Guyenne.

The king executed a design this year, which he had long had in his mind, of *Aug. 1.* constituting an order of knights, and took Saint Michael for its patron. This order was to be composed of thirty-six knights, with a chancellor, treasurer, register, and herald, all elected by a plurality of voices. The king was the head of the order, and had two voices; but in case of division, he might have three. The first whom the king  
created

created knights, were the duke of Guyenne, John de Bourbon, the constable de St. Pol, John de Beuil, count de Sancerre, Lewis de Beaumont, lord de la Foret, and du Pleffis, John d'Estouteville, lord de Torcy; Lewis de Laval, lord de Chatillon; Lewis the bastard of Bourbon, count de Rouffillon, the admiral of France; Anthony de Chabannes, count de Dammartin; John the bastard of Armagnac, count de Comminges, marshal of France, and governor of Dauphiny; George de la Tremouille, lord de Craon; Gilbert de Chabannes, lord de Curton; Charles de Cruffol, seneschal of Poitou; and Tanneguy du Chatel, governor of Rouffillon and Cerdagne. The number of thirty-six knights not being compleat, the king declared, that the first chapter which should be held, the others should be elected.

The principal qualifications for being a knight were, that he should be a gentleman by birth and by arms, and without reproach. Any one might be deprived of the order upon three accounts, which were, for heresy, treason, or for having fled in any battle or rencounter. A chapter was annually held, in which the lives and morals of each particular knight were examined, beginning with him that was last received, and ending with the king, who also subjected himself to the examination. The knight whose turn it was to be examined, always went out of the assembly, that his examination might be more free and unrestrained; and he was afterwards called in, and his conduct either praised or blamed, according as they should see cause.

The duke of Guyenne being arrived  
*Aug. 19.* at Rochelle, he sent his seal to the king, with the oath which it appears the king had required of him. It seems probable, that the only reason why Lewis had conceived such a hatred for the duke of Burgundy, was because he dreaded a  
**marriage**

marriage between his brother and the heiress of that house. The duke of Guyenne's oath turned almost entirely upon this article. After the usual protestations of fidelity, the duke of Guyenne promised never to think of this marriage, nor even mention it to the king, for fear of displeasing him. This oath was repeated in all its senses, and in all the forms.

The king, being desirous to inspire his brother with confidence, proposed an *Septemb.* interview between them. It was agreed to be in Poitou, near the castle of Charron upon the river Bray, over which was laid a bridge of boats, and a lodge built in the middle, divided by a barrier of iron bars: in this manner the two brothers were to have their conference of re-union.

They both repaired to the place, accompanied by twelve persons, leaving the rest of their retinue on the two sides of the river. The duke of Guyenne, when he saw the king, uncovered himself, and put one knee to the ground; and kneeled a second time when he entered the lodge. The two princes afterwards ordered their followers to withdraw, and after having discoursed together for half an hour in private, they called them in again. The duke of Guyenne then desired the king would permit him to come on his side. The king at first denied him, saying it began to be late; but the duke having reiterated his desire, the king granted it. The duke threw himself at his majesty's feet, who raised him and embraced him. The next day they repaired to the same place; the barrier was taken down, and they shewed each other mutual marks of the most tender friendship. Those who were present expressed their joy by crying out *Noel*, which at that time was the joyful exclamation.

The duke of Guyenne failed not to shew the king marks of the most sincere repentance; and the most perfect submission: he would have accompanied him,  
but

but the king would not permit him, because there were not sufficient accommodations for his retinue; but the next day they went together to the seat of Guy de Souches, lord de Malicorne. The prince for some time did nothing but give feasts and entertainments, and the people were continually making them the most sincere vows.

That superstition and pride which persuade the great, that independent of the general laws of nature, they are the object of providence's particular attention, occasioned a report, that the sea did not rise so high as usual the day of the interview, that the princes might get upon the bridge, the extremities of which, it was said, ought according to its general rising, to have been covered by the Flux. Flattery, no doubt, was more the occasion of this observation, than any physical cause.

The king, in order to attach his brother to him the more strongly, added several lands to his appenage; but he was engaged in a yet more important affair. He saw himself without male children, and having no inclination for an alliance with the house of Burgundy, he undertook to marry the duke of Guyenne to Isabella, infanta of Castile, and sister to king Henry IV; notwithstanding her engagements with Ferdinand, son of the king of Arragon: and in consequence of this design, he sent the cardinal d'Alby, and the sire de Forey, to propose the marriage.

The ambassadors were charged, in case they could not obtain Isabella, to demand the infanta Jane, Henry's daughter. They found this prince so much the more disposed in favour of France, as he was not without some fears, that Ferdinand might deprive him of his authority. Besides, he was neither feared nor respected: his court was divided between himself and Isabella, and he only saw those in his  
own

own party who had not found sufficient advantages to retain them in the other.

The ambassadors being conducted to their audience, the cardinal d'Alby enlarged much upon the alliances which at all times had subsisted between France and Castile, from king to king, and from people to people; and represented, that a marriage between the duke of Guyenne and the princess Isabella, was the only means of renewing and perpetuating these alliances.

The king of Castile answered the ambassadors, that he was very ready to conclude the alliance they had proposed, and ordered them to confer about it with the grand-master of St. James, whom Lewis XI. had lately engaged in his interests.

The princess Isabella, being informed of what passed, sent advice of it to the archbishop of Toledo, to Amirante, and to all those that were attached to her, and then retired to Madrigal. The cardinal d'Alby and the archbishop of Seville went to her on the part of the king her brother. They omitted nothing which might incline her to return back; but she gave them to understand, she was not in the least touched by Henry's remonstrances, nor was at all afraid of his menaces. Thus the ambassadors were obliged to return into France without having done any thing, more than hastening the marriage of this princess with Ferdinand.

Lewis was scarce separated from the duke of Guyenne, when he was informed, that the duke of Burgundy was making fresh efforts to draw him to his court. He immediately sent de Beuil, Batarnay, and Doriole, to prevent or efface the impressions which the duke of Burgundy might make upon monsieur. The king had so much the more reason for taking these measures, as James de St. Pol, the constable's brother, and the sieur de Remiremont were gone to the duke of Guyenne, to ask him whether

ther the king had exactly executed the treaty of Peronne, and to tell him, that the duke of Burgundy desiring nothing more ardently, than to cement the friendship which had always subsisted between them, offered him madamoiselle de Burgundy in marriage; that they had brought him the collar of the order of the Golden Fleece; and that they had a chart-blanche to grant him whatever he should desire.

After the duke of Guyenne had communicated the duke of Burgundy's proposals to the king's ministers, he replied in answer to that prince's offers, that he was very well satisfied with the duchy of Guyenne, and still more with the king's friendship; that he had just received the order of St. Michael, and neither could nor would bear any other; that he would acknowledge none for his friends but those who were so to the king, and that the duke of Burgundy being of this number, he might be assured he should always remain his friend and ally.

The duke of Guyenne sent back the duke of Burgundy's ambassadors without making them the presents usual between allies, and to shew the king a still greater mark of confidence, he came to him at Pleffis-les-Tours. Lewis was highly pleased at his brother's behaviour, and testified his satisfaction by all manner of feasts and entertainments; he defrayed the expences of all those who had accompanied him, and distributed money amongst them so extensively, that the meanest of the duke's domesticks partook of his liberalities. The duke was satisfied with his reception, and after having assured the king of an inviolable fidelity, he returned to St. John d'Angely.

Though the usual residence of Lewis XI. was at Pleffis-les-Tours, he nevertheless took several tours from time to time into the provinces where his presence might be necessary. He was exactly informed of all abuses, and applied the necessary remedies. He suppressed the privilege of an exclusive bank,  
which

which was become ufurious, and rendered it a free one.

He paid a particular attention to trade and commerce. He offered letters of naturalization, with exemptions and other privileges to all foreigners who should come and establish themselves to work in the mines that were opened in Dauphiny and Rouffillon. To repair the disorders caused by the civil war, he permitted the walls of Rufec, which had been demolished, to be rebuilt. The occasion of their being demolished, was because John de Voluire, to whom it belonged, had declared himself for the leagued princes.

All those to whom the king had granted pardons, were not become entirely faithful. The count d'Armagnac, who ought never to have entered into the league of the publick good after the favours he had received from the king, had not even executed the treaty of St. Maur. He kept eleven hundred men constantly in arms, and had offered them to the king of England, in case he would make a descent in Guyenne. Lewis, to render the count incapable of doing any thing of the like nature for the future, had made an agreement with him, by which he was to disband his men for the sum of ten thousand livres. The count received the money, but did not disband his men. Besides the disquiet which these troops gave the king, they desolated Languedoc, laid the towns and the whole country under contribution, oppressed the inhabitants, plundered their houses, and committed all the crimes that an ungoverned soldiery are capable of. Complaints of their outrages were brought to the king; and the parliament of Toulouse received orders to enquire into them; but the count contemned its arrears. The example of his disobedience was of very pernicious consequence. The king's authority was no longer acknowledged in the provinces adjoining

to Garonne: the royal taxes could no longer be raised in them, and the nobility refused to march in the arrier-ban. The principal thing to be done in this affair, was to bring the count d'Armagnac to his duty, because his temerity encouraged the rebellion of the others. The count d'Armagnac was one of those lords who are only enemies to lawful authority, from a desire of becoming tyrants themselves. He imagined himself too powerful to obey, but was not sufficiently so to make himself obeyed, and maintain discipline amongst troops, who only served him that they might live in a loose and disorderly manner. And those gentlemen that were his vassals, attached themselves to him, only that they might oppress their own with impunity. Armagnac was in short one of those examples, which prove tyranny to be frequently supported by base and low means; and that a lawful authority, when not abused by him in whom it is vested, is the most likely to secure and promote publick welfare and happiness.

The king being informed of all the count's excesses, already too great, and the consequences of which were still to be feared, and suspecting him also of holding a correspondence with the English, he sent the count de Dammartin with a power as absolute as a sovereign can give to one of his subjects. Dammartin was charged to inquire into the misdemeanors in the administration of justice, the finances, and the army: to forbid the raising of any troops without an express commission from his majesty: to disband those of the counts d'Armagnac, d'Foix, and d'Albert: to bring all those gentlemen to a trial who had not appeared in the arrier-ban; and to punish or pardon as he should judge proper. In order to make authority feared by those who will not respect it, Dammartin departed at the head of an army, having under his command the admiral, the seneschal of Poitou, and Tanneguy du Chatel.

Armagnac,



Armagnac, from temerity fell into weakness, and fled at the approach of Dammartin, L'Isle-Jourdain, Severac, Laitoure, and Cabrespine, all opened their gates, or surrendered upon articles. Dammartin marched immediately against the duke of Nemours, who notwithstanding his obligations to the king, had entered into all the plots and confederacies, and was at this time engaged in the party of Armagnac, the eldest of his house.

The king had already laid an information against the duke of Nemours. The council declared, that the duke had obtained his duchy of the king, and had been loaded with favours; notwithstanding which he had been one of the principal authors of the civil war: that after having obtained his pardon, and being engaged to serve the king against all his enemies, of which he had taken an oath, he had nevertheless endeavoured to raise the people, and had united with the count d'Armagnac. In consequence of this declaration, the duke of Nemours was declared and condemned as guilty of high-treason, and his life and estate confiscated.

Nemours had recourse to Dammartin to obtain favour, and desired him to intercede with the king for him. Lewis, in consideration of Dammartin, pardoned the duke of Nemours once more, on condition that if he ever failed in his fidelity to the king, he should be punished for all the crimes for which he had been pardoned; that his lands should be reunited to the crown, and that all churchmen, officers in the army and justice, depending on him, should (if he failed in his promise,) swear never more to acknowledge him for their lord. The king moreover required him to swear to all these conditions upon the cross of St. Lo, which was performed some months after with great ceremony.

Here we may observe, that oaths taken upon relics, were much in use at this Time, and that

Lewis

Lewis XI. had a particular faith in the cross of St. Lo ; we may perceive also, that superstition did not prevent perjury, and only served to sacrifice the sentiments of honour to the vain ceremony of an oath.

The parliament, after having this year frequently summoned the count d'Armagnac, the year following declared him guilty of high-treason, condemned him to death, and confiscated his estate. His lands were divided amongst those who had distinguished themselves most in the king's service, or that were most in favour. Dammartin was more particularly distinguished. The king gave him publick marks of his gratitude, ordered him the sum of twenty-thousand crowns, put him in possession of the territory of Severac, and declared he could give him nothing that would be too great a reward for his services.

*The end of the First Volume.*

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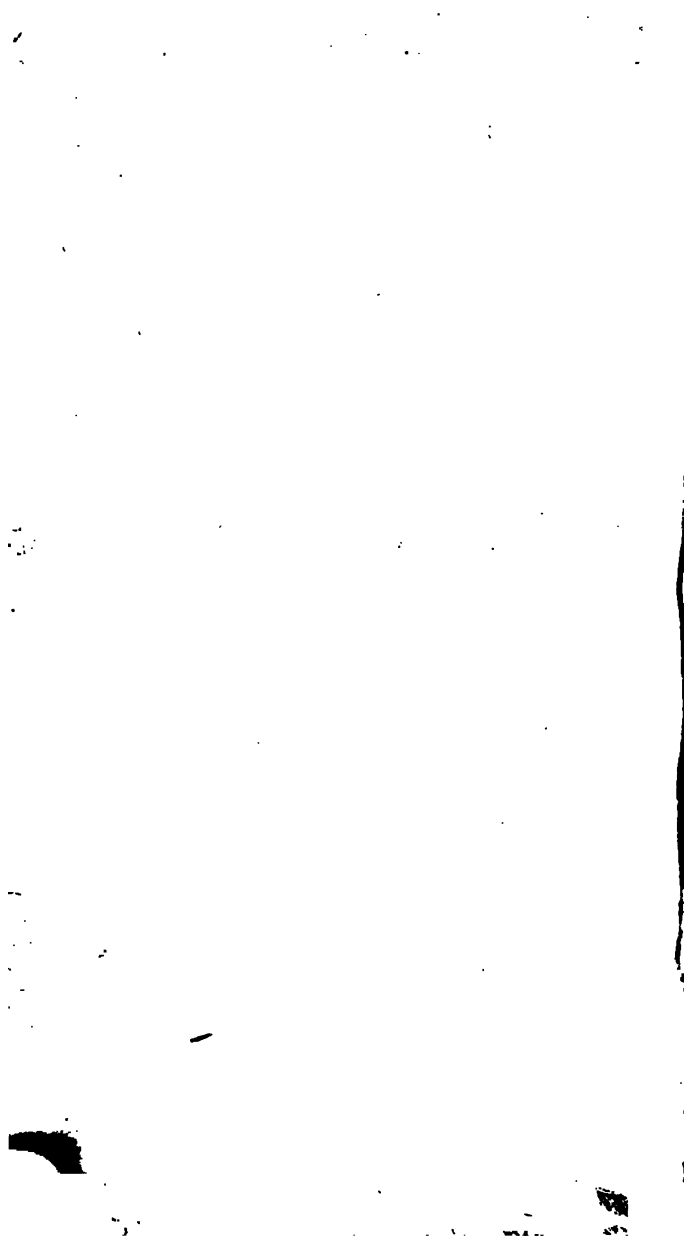
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